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ANNALES  
DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS  
DE L'ÉGYPTE



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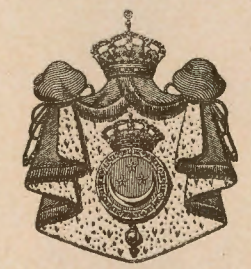
SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

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**ANNALES**  
**DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS**  
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TOME XLIII



LE CAIRE  
IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS  
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

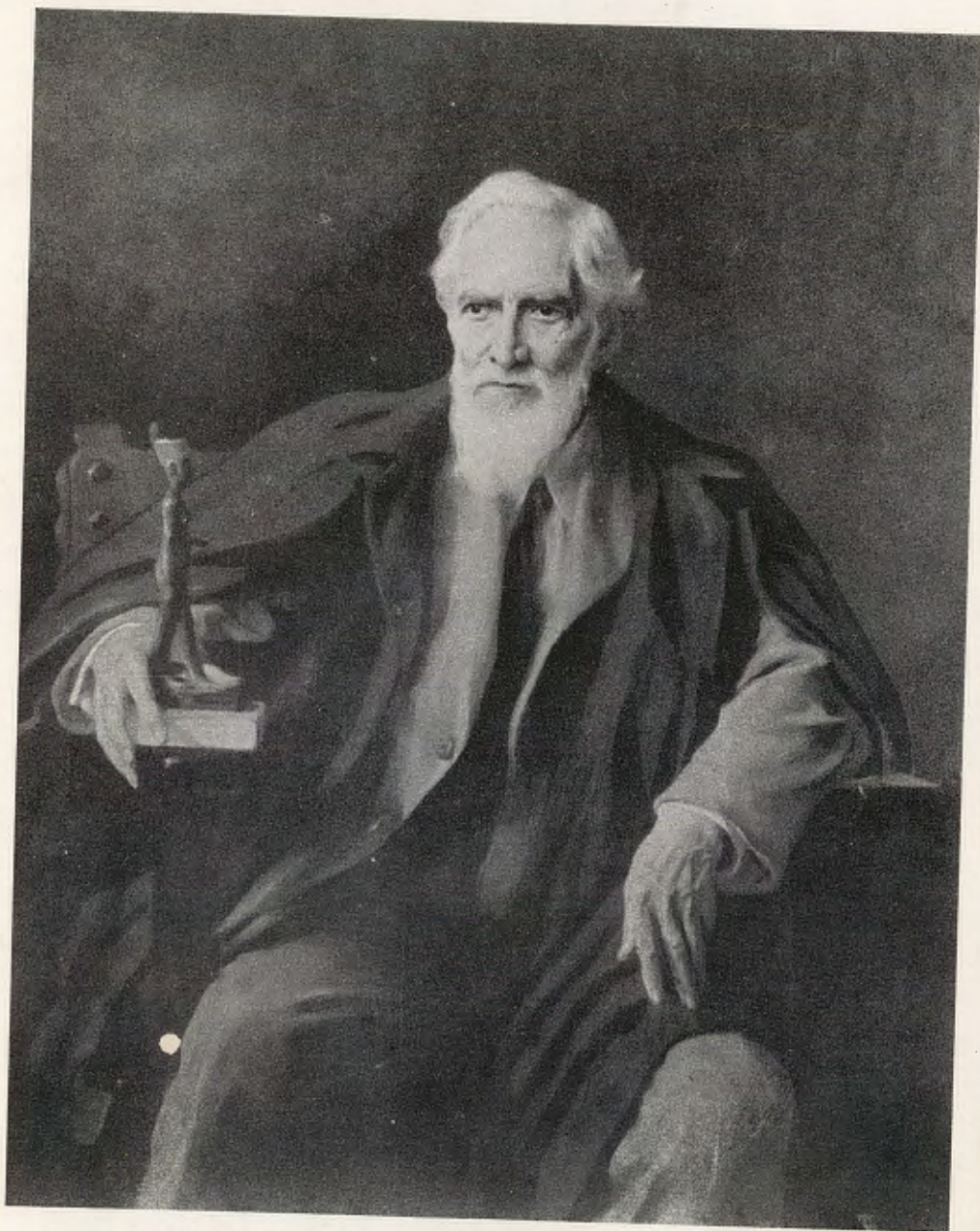
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TABLES  
DE SERVICE DES ANTHROPIQUES  
DE FRANCE



**NOTICE NÉCROLOGIQUE**



Sir FLINDERS PETRIE

From the painting by Philip de Laszlo at University College.

## ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE.

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### WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE.

The passing of Professor Flinders Petrie at Jerusalem on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1942 marks the end of an epoch which saw the birth and rapid growth of scientific archaeology, for which he, more than any other man, was primarily responsible. Before his time, to quote his own words, "the science of observation, recording, and registration were unthought of; nothing had a meaning unless it were an inscription or a sculpture". The reconstruction of history from pottery and other dumb objects was an undreamt of possibility; the written word was all that mattered. Now, at the present day, the principles which he was the first to practise and which he so tirelessly advocated in all his countless public lectures are adopted by all excavators who are worthy of the name of archaeologists.

Petrie was born at Bromley, Kent, on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1853. His father, William Petrie, a strict Presbyterian, was a man of varied attainments, and devoted himself, among other things, to electric lighting, medicine, chemical engineering, and surveying. His mother was a daughter of Matthew Flinders, the famous Australian explorer, who had taught himself geometry and navigation before entering the Royal Navy. She was a lady with a deep interest in history and mineralogy. Flinders was an only child. He early showed remarkable mental activity and powers of observation, which were fostered by his association with his grown-up relations; for he had no companions of his own age. When four years



old he was taken for a five mile walk to see the Nelson relics at Greenwich Hospital. From six to eight he had a governess whose main endeavour was to teach him French, Latin, and Greek grammar, for which he had no aptitude whatever.

A breakdown resulted, and for two years he was left to his own devices. At the age of ten fresh attempts were made with the grammars, but it was found to be hopeless. As chronic asthma kept him indoors during the winters, he was never sent to school. Consequently he had to educate himself. As a small child he developed a passion for collecting coins, and had a most extraordinary interest in weights and measures. Chemistry and the study of minerals were also hobbies. An archaeological sense developed early; he tells of his horror, when a child of eight, at seeing the excavation of a Roman villa where the earth was cleared away without any regard to its contents and their mutual relationship.

At the age of thirteen he acquired a copy of Piazzi Smyth's "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid", a book which incidentally so interested his father that he eventually was the main cause of his son's first expedition to Egypt to test further the measurements of that "mysterious" edifice on which the mystical theories were based. Young Flinders seems to have rapidly outgrown his early delicacy to a great extent; for he spent much of his time tramping round the country, measuring buildings and investigating anything of historical interest. He would doss down anywhere that came to hand, and lived on a few shillings a week. When he was nineteen he made a survey of Stonehenge. At twenty-two, walking twenty miles a day, he made detailed plans of the principal earthworks and stone circles in the south of England. His intensive study of weights and measures eventually led to the publication, when he was twenty-four, of his book "Inductive Metrology", a work of great originality and keen perception.

Petrie seems to have felt no need of companionship; nor was he very sympathetic to the ideas of others. His own mind was always teeming with a riot of original ideas, based on his own observations; but he was ever willing and ready to lead along the newly opened paths. Even when visited by those having great experience in archaeology he preferred

to talk rather than to listen. Further, having once arrived at a conclusion, he was extremely averse to modifying it in any way. His work absorbed all his time and all his energies; he consequently had no interest in, and little understanding of, the pleasures and relaxations of others. He would say, with a veiled pride, that he had never been in a theatre. Consequently his outlook on life in general was somewhat limited. Being self-contained, and living in a world of his own, he had a strong aversion to officialdom and to all regulations when they interfered with his activities. Never having had the discipline of sports he was incapable of team work with its necessary compromises; this led to many of the differences, not to say quarrels, with those in authority with whom he came in contact. Ploughing his own furrow, there must be no interference or deviation from it; but the furrow had amazingly fertile results. His family was possessed of only modest means; this increased the desire for economy which was inherent in his nature. He rightly detested waste of all kinds; but his economies were carried so far that he eventually came to regard discomfort as a virtue. While his own work perhaps did not suffer much, he was quite unable to realise that others were not built after his pattern.

Much of the success of his excavations was due to the treatment of his native workmen. He was the first to realise the unusual intelligence of the men from Quft. He trained a body of these for skilled work, and his example was followed by most other excavators. He was insistent on the necessity for bakhshish; this not only prevented pilfering, but encouraged careful work, as any damage reduced the value. Another excellent rule was his direct contact with each man in money matters; no reis ever paid his men. Regulations as to the removal of objects from their positions when found were strict. Any infringement was punished; occasionally a man would be sacked on the spot. And from start to finish of the day's work, European supervision was constant.

In 1880, at the age of twenty-seven, he started his career in Egypt with the long-planned examination of the pyramids of Giza. Using methods which were to a great extent his own, and working to a fine degree of accuracy, he showed conclusively that the theories which had so captivated public opinion, were entirely fanciful. His measurements,

tested in recent years by more up-to-date instruments, have had to be only very slightly modified.

After two seasons at the pyramids, and a year for the preparation of his book "The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh", Petrie in 1883 began work, without salary, for the Egypt Exploration Fund, a recently formed association with Miss Amelia B. Edwards as joint secretary. Sites along the Wady el Tumilat were examined; and a long tramp in the Western Delta, to search for the place of origin of an archaic Greek statuette, resulted in the discovery of Naukratis. Finally he settled at Tanis, where his main effort was directed to planning the positions of all the inscribed blocks in the temple area, turning over and examining all on the surface. Funds did not allow of any thorough clearance. Further work was done here in the following season when Frank Llewelyn Griffith, an expert in hieroglyphs, joined the expedition for the first time, and gave necessary aid. Time was also found for an examination of the site at Naukratis where the history and religious cults of the early Greeks in Egypt were determined for the first time. Here foundation deposits were a new discovery; they have proved a very valuable aid to the dating of Egyptian buildings far back into the Pharaonic period. The work at Naukratis was continued in the following season, and two sites which he had noted near Tanis were explored with interesting results at Nebesheh and Tell Defenneh. The latter proved to be a station of early Greek mercenaries, thus supplementing the finds at Naukratis. In all this work Petrie's main aim was, as ever to a great extent throughout his life, to rescue from the rapid destruction that was always going on as much as possible of the history of ancient sites; neither time nor funds allowed a prolonged and exhaustive examination of any one site.

Differences now arose between Petrie and the committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund which led to his resignation, though Miss Edwards, the founder of the Fund, remained his staunch supporter. Left to his own resources, with an income of only £110 a year of his own (to which was added a small grant from the Royal Society), he spent the season of 1887 in a voyage to Upper Egypt in a small boat with Griffith. For the Royal Society he undertook a survey of the pyramids at Dahshur and made plaster casts and photographs of a series of foreign racial types

among the temple reliefs at Thebes. In addition, he and Griffith searched out and copied a great number of rock inscriptions, mainly at the First Cataract.

For the next eight years Petrie's work in Egypt was financed by Jesse Haworth, a friend of Miss Edwards, and Martyn Kennard, who met all costs of labour and transport; Petrie paid his own expenses. The antiquities which the Cairo Museum did not require were divided between the three. Haworth's share went to the Manchester University Museum; part of Petrie's was sent to Philadelphia in exchange for subscriptions, and part went later to University College, London. Kennard gave some of his share to the Ashmolean Museum, but most were retained by him, and being dispersed by sale after his death, were largely lost to science.

The first three winters were spent at the entrance to the Fayum where the pyramids of Hawara and Illahun with the neighbouring cemeteries, the Middle Kingdom town of Kahun, and the town-site and necropolis of Gurob were the principal sites examined. The results were of great interest. Both pyramids were entered and planned and their date determined; the pottery and other objects of both the Middle and New Kingdom were classified for the first time; a flood of light was thrown on the home life and crafts of the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; definite synchronisms were established between Egypt and the Ægean; a splendid series of Late Egyptian amulets were recovered from an untouched mummy and their exact positions noted; classical, literary and other papyri were recovered; and a series of portraits painted on wood showed an entirely unsuspected development of provincial art in the first centuries A. D. It was at Hawara that the method of treating decayed organic objects with hot wax was first employed, a method which has since been the means of preserving countless objects which would otherwise have been completely lost.

In the summer of 1890 Petrie made an examination of the mound of Tell el Hesi in Palestine which he thought to be the ancient Lachish, and a beginning was made in the dating of local pottery. But next winter he was back in Egypt exploring the early mastabas at Medum, and beginning a record of the archaeology of the early Old Kingdom. Next year Tell el Amarna was the site chosen, and here he was joined by

Howard Carter, working on behalf of Lord Amherst of Hackney. A flood of light was thrown on the arts and crafts of the period; the fresco of the two princesses and the painted pavement, practically intact when found, were outstanding discoveries.

Early in 1892 two deaths occurred which were to affect his life very considerably. One was that of his mother, and the other that of Miss Amelia Edwards. The first brought him a small but welcome addition to his private income; the second led to his appointment as Professor of Egyptology at University College, London. Miss Edwards in her will bequeathed her library and collections to that institution; this formed a nucleus for the students' museum which was to be of such value in the near future. She also provided a small endowment for the chair, indicating her wish that Petrie should be the first Professor. Thus began that long association between Petrie and the College which made it the centre of Egyptian studies where so many students have profited, and that at a minimum expense to themselves.

Petrie was an indefatigable worker; he allowed himself no relaxation and had no recreations as the term is usually understood. All his summers in England were spent in the preparation and publication of his researches; he was hard at work even on his voyages to and from the East though he was a bad sailor. He also found time for the writing of books and articles which helped him in a small way financially. And his lectures at centres of learning did much to spread his reputation and increase the deep interest which had been aroused in the public mind by his discoveries. All this incessant energy combined with the poor way in which he lived when on his expeditions brought about a serious breakdown. Partly owing to this, and partly owing to the new work thrown on him by his professorship, and the organisation of his department at the College, he made no expedition to Egypt in the winter of 1892/3. Instead he went to Italy to recuperate; and after a short and comparatively restful time in Rome, toured Italian and other continental museums taking photographs and making drawings of much inaccessible and interesting material. In his later years, on more than one occasion, he spent a considerable time in Italy on researches of various kinds.

His work during the next three seasons in Egypt was at Koptos, Naqada, and Thebes, always supported by Haworth and Kennard. Koptos produced much that was new historically including the primitive statues of Min. Naqada supplied a complete new culture in all its many details which was eventually recognised as Predynastic. At Thebes the foundations of a series of royal mortuary temples were planned and dated, and the great stela of Meneptah (mentioning the people of Israel) discovered. This inscription started a world-wide discussion. Petrie's reputation now stood so high that a leader-writer in the "Times" remarked: "Professor Petrie is a magician and the soil of Egypt is his bag of wonders". The series of exhibitions at University College of his finds in Egypt began in 1894. They were free to the public (as was the first of each series of his College lectures); attracting as they did the "man in the street", they did much to bring home to the public the wonders of the past.

The celebrity which he had acquired now made it possible for Petrie to start an organisation for the training of students which was known as the Egyptian Research Account. The subscriptions to this enabled him to enlarge his work to some extent. Secondary expeditions were sent out, at first jointly with his own (as at Naqada and Thebes), subsequently on different sites but always under his indirect supervision. The principal leaders of these were Quibell and Garstang.

In 1897 Petrie, having come to satisfactory terms with the committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund, once more started work on its behalf. This was continued for eight seasons from 1896/7 to 1904/5. These were spent at Deshasheh, Denderah, Hu, Abydos, Ehnasya, and in Sinai. The discoveries made varied in importance; the four years spent at Abydos (1900-1903) had by far the greatest results. Here Petrie, from his work at the royal tombs, lamentably ravaged though they had been by Amélineau, was able for the first time to recover a large amount of inscribed and other material of the first two dynasties, and to reconstruct the history of the period. This was one of his most important achievements. Another innovation in archaeology was his invention of the system of Sequence Dating, by which the changes in the Predynastic culture could be expressed in numerical order. This was published in 1901 in "Diospolis Parva" (Hu).

In 1905 more difficulties arose with the Exploration Fund. Meanwhile the Egypt Research account had been steadily functioning in a small way; and Petrie, now once more left to his own resources, decided to start a second organisation on a larger scale. This was called the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, for one of his aims had been to train such students as had an aptitude for archaeology, and to give them the practical experience essential for a thorough understanding of the subject. Petrie's fame now stood him in good stead. Aided by his wife (for he had married Miss Hilda Umlin in 1897) he was able to collect a large number of subscribers. Eventually the Research Account and the British School were amalgamated. The scheme of giving students an opportunity for field work gave excellent results; almost all English egyptologists who have made names for themselves or occupied important positions have begun their careers under his aegis and fired by his example.

From 1906 to 1926 the British School was active in Egypt. At first various sites were examined such as Tell el Yehudiya in the Delta, archaic mastabas at Giza, and Rifeh, Athribis, and Qurneh in Upper Egypt. Then two main schemes were decided on. One was to explore the city of Memphis and the other to examine all sites in succession on the west bank running southward from the pyramid fields. The latter part of six seasons (1908-1913) was devoted to Memphis; but the work was difficult and insufficiently productive without a very large expenditure, and was therefore given up. The other scheme was in operation from 1910 to 1922 (omitting the war years), and work was done at Meydum, Gerzeh, Mazghuneh, Tarkhan, Riqqeh, Lahun, Harageh, Gurob, Sedment and Oxyrrhyncus, with secondary camps at Hawara (1911), Heliopolis and Shurafa (1912), and Abydos (1922). The results from all this work were excellent. At Tarkhan the archaic cemetery provided a large *Corpus* of First Dynasty pottery, and extended the knowledge which had been derived from Abydos. Especially interesting was the evidence found of the method of construction of wooden buildings. At Lahun the pyramid surroundings were completely cleared, and the jewellery of a princess was particularly valuable as it could be reconstructed in nearly every detail. It served as a guide to the seven splendid treasures of Dahshur which had been found in 1894 and 1895 and which had

remained since then exhibited at Cairo in a sad array of incomplete bits and pieces.

In 1923 the work of the British School was shifted to the Badari district in Middle Egypt where the main result was the discovery of cemeteries of a period earlier than that of Naqada, now known as Badarian. This occupied three years, and in 1926 the school sent out expeditions under Miss Caton-Thompson to examine the equally early cultures of the Fayum, and under Dr. Sandford to search for the original source of a large collection of mineralised animal and some human bones which had been discovered by the Badari expeditions.

Much of the work of these last seasons had been in the sole charge of students at separate camps. Petrie himself now felt that he had illustrated in great detail all the historic and prehistoric periods of Ancient Egypt, and that such work could not carry him much further. New conditions had been laid down by the Department of Antiquities whereby all finds of special interest had to remain in Egypt. This did not appeal to Petrie, who therefore decided to seek new fields where Egypt's foreign connections might be investigated. Palestine was the country chosen; and there he spent many seasons excavating the town mounds of Gaza, Gerar, Beth-pelet, and Tell el-Ajjul. But he returned to Egypt once more in 1935/7 to work at Anthedon close to the Palestine border.

Petrie's health had to some extent always interfered with his work. He estimated that he had been disabled on an average for one month in every year. Bronchial troubles which did not grow less with advancing years decided him to give up his English domicile and with it his chair at University College. He made his new home at Jerusalem. At the age of 84 he found that work in the field taxed his strength overmuch, and he felt that he could best use his declining years in adding to his long series of publications. Not long before his death he contracted malaria from which he never fully recovered; he was bed-ridden for some months, gradually losing strength until the peaceful end. He left his widow, and two children, John and Ann, to mourn his loss.

Petrie had a genial side to his character which was known only to those in close contact with him. He had a sense of humour to which crafty wiles specially appealed; he was a lover of children and animals;



he rarely lost his temper, and when he did, it was usually a righteous anger; and he was never known to swear. Music appealed to him, and he could play the piano creditably. His earlier writings show that he was capable of a cultivated literary style, and he might even indulge in poetic feeling. He once wrote, when describing a young girl whom he had met, "her smiles ripple over her face like the wind over a cornfield".

To compile a complete bibliography of Petrie's works to include all the many articles he contributed to journals and magazines would be an impossible task. His books number over a hundred. First and foremost are more than fifty volumes recording the results of his excavations. Many of these were written in collaboration with his assistants, for it was an excellent part of his policy in the training of students to give them experience in the publication of work in which they had taken a principal part. These reports have been criticised as being hasty and lacking in sufficient detail. But Petrie always insisted that main results should be issued with as little delay as possible and that their cost should make them available to the greatest possible number of students. All however agree that this series of records contains a mine of information which is indispensable to all workers, and far and away exceeds the output of any other excavator.

A second series of volumes was commenced in 1913. These were intended as a combination of catalogues of the University College collection and treatises on various branches of Egyptian archaeology. The combination was not altogether happy. Twelve volumes have appeared dealing with Amulets, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, Buttons and Scarabs with Designs, Tools and Weapons, Prehistoric Egypt, Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes, Weights and Measures, Glass Stamps, Objects of Daily Use, Shabtis, Funeral Furniture, and Stone and Metal Vases. Eight other catalogues were written but the manuscripts lost.

In addition to this great output, Petrie found time to write a number of books on various subjects all full of original ideas. Inductive Metrology appeared in 1877; Stonehenge (1880); Historical Scarabs (1889); Ten Years Digging (1892); three volumes of the Students History of Egypt, an invaluable work which should be brought up to date (1894-

1905); Egyptian Decorative Art, and Egyptian Tales (1895); Syria and Egypt, and Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt (1898); Methods and Aims in Archaeology, which should be in the hands of every practical student (1904); Religion of Ancient Egypt, and Migrations (1906); Janus in Modern Life (1907); Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity, and Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt (1909); Historical Studies, and the Growth of the Gospels (1910); Egypt and Israel, and the Formation of the Alphabet (1911); Revolutions of Civilisation (1912); Some Sources of Human History, and Eastern Exploration (1919); the Status of Jews in Egypt (1922); Social Life in Ancient Egypt (1923); Religious Life in Ancient Egypt, and Descriptive Sociology (1924); Hill Figures of England (1926); How to Observe in Archaeology (1929); Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World, and Corpus of Palestinian Pottery (1930); Seventy Years in Archaeology (1931); Palestine and Israel, Historical Notes (1934); Egyptian Architecture (1938); and the Making of Egypt (1939). He also contributed many articles to his own Journal "Ancient Egypt" (1914-1935), the Dictionary of the Bible, and the Encyclopedia Britannica.

In such a vast output it is obvious that the quality must vary. Much was hastily written, and rather cryptic in style. As time went on, Petrie's views on all manner of subjects, given as theories only to begin with, crystallised into stated facts. As he never visited the excavations of others, and obviously had insufficient time for a detailed study of the ever increasing number of Egyptological works, especially those of continental origin, his books, especially the later ones, did not carry the weight they might have done. But, even so, their very unorthodoxy was valuable in that it stimulated discussion. No one could ever talk to, or rather listen to Petrie, without having to think hard.

He was a member of many learned societies in Italy, Germany, and America, a Fellow of the Royal Society, of the British Academy, of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Many Universities conferred degrees on him. Among these were Doctor of Civil Law, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Letters, Doctor of Literature, Doctor of Science, and Doctor of Philosophy. In 1923 he was knighted by King George V at Windsor. In 1925 he was

the first recipient of the Petrie Gold Medal for archaeology. And in 1930, the fiftieth anniversary of his work in Egypt was celebrated by a dinner given in his honour by Sir Robert Mond which was attended by 180 well-known figures in the world of archaeology. That was the crowning event in his career.

Guy BRUNTON.

## MONUMENTS INÉDITS

TROIS DOCUMENTS  
D'ÉPOQUE AMARNIENNE.

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I

LA STATUETTE FUNÉRAIRE DE LA DAME IPY.

Le corpus des inscriptions de l'époque d'Akhenaton, édité récemment par M. Sandman<sup>(1)</sup>, ne réunit au total que trois textes d'*ouchebti*. Le premier et le troisième, conservés sur des statuettes du Caire et de Zurich, sont des formules à peu près identiques, relatives aux offrandes déposées dans le tombeau. Le second, plus explicite sur les destinées posthumes, n'est encore connu que par une publication de Legrain dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités* de 1910<sup>(2)</sup>. La copie de Legrain, reproduite par M. Sandman, est manifestement fautive en plusieurs endroits.

D'après Legrain, la statuette en bois qui porte ce texte avait été vue par lui, quelques années auparavant, chez un antiquaire de Louxor, d'où elle avait dû passer, présumait-il, dans quelque collection particulière.

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<sup>(1)</sup> SANDMAN, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, VIII), Bruxelles 1938, p. 177, n° CCVII, CCVIII et CCIX.

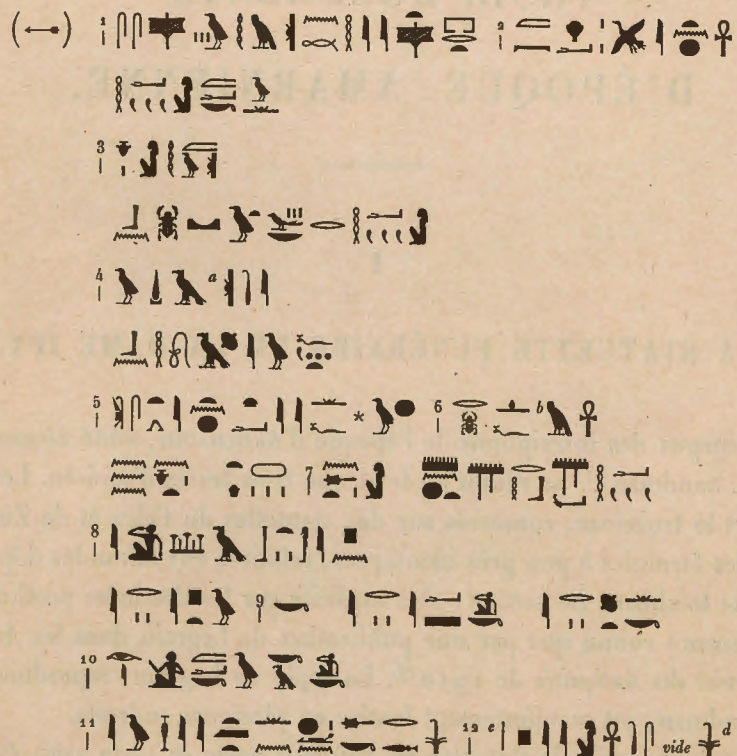
*Sur un ouchebti du temps de Khouniatonou et le scarabée n° 5993 de Turin*, dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, X (1910), p. 107-108.

<sup>(2)</sup> LEGRAIN, *Notes d'inspection*, LXV,

En cela Legrain opinait juste. La statuette avait été acquise par Omar Pacha Sultan. Elle fut publiée, après sa mort, dans le catalogue de son musée privé<sup>(1)</sup>, mais avec une notice si imprécise qu'il était impossible de l'identifier.

L'objet fait maintenant partie de la collection de S. M. le roi Farouk I<sup>er</sup>.

Le texte qu'il porte est le suivant :



a. Le est maladroitement tracé et ressemble à un . — b. Un espace sépare les éléments de ce signe . — c. Le graveur, ayant sans doute effacé le signe tracé à l'encre, en manipulant la statuette, l'a remplacé, en suivant les traces, par un trait vertical. Lire . — d. Même accident à la gravure. Il faut reconstituer .

<sup>(1)</sup> *Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan, Le Caire. Catalogue descriptif, Paris 1929, n° 378, pl. LVII*

(1) *Respire les doux souffles du vent du nord, qui sortent* (2) *du ciel sur la main du Disque vivant<sup>a</sup> ! Ton corps est protégé* (3) *et ton cœur est satisfait. Il n'arrivera aucun mal à ton corps,* (4) *et tu te porteras bien. Tes chairs ne se corrompront pas.* (5) *Tu accompagneras le Disque<sup>b</sup> lorsqu'il se lèvera le matin* (6) *jusqu'au moment où il se couchera en vie<sup>c</sup>. De l'eau sera à ton cœur<sup>d</sup>, du pain sera* (7) *à ton ventre, un vêtement vêtira ton corps.* (8) *O ce corvéable, si tu es recensé,* (9) *si tu es appelé, si tu es décompté,* (10) *« Je le fais, me voici », diras-tu.* (11) *C'est la vraie favorite de l'Unique du Soleil, l'ornement du roi,* (12) *Ipy. Qu'elle vive et soit bien portante<sup>e</sup> !*

a. Expression qui correspond à la figuration amarnienne du soleil dont les rayons, envoyés vers la terre, sont terminés par autant de mains qui apportent un signe de vie.

La demande de respirer les souffles est fréquente dans les prières funéraires d'Amarna (SANDMAN, *Texts*<sup>(1)</sup>, 4/6. 77/10. 100/8. 101/3. 14), dont parfois même elle constitue l'unique souhait : SANDMAN, *Textes*, 30/11. 58/16. Dans les formules développées, elle vient généralement en tête des autres demandes : SANDMAN, *Texts*, 67/5. 72/10. 101/2. 169/13. 177/4. 17. 178/8.

b. Cf. SANDMAN, *Texts*, 72/13.

c. Cette expression (SANDMAN, *Texts*, 30/15. 48/14. 141/4) se trouve plusieurs fois dans les textes d'Amarna, employée avec la même tournure, assez rare ailleurs, : SANDMAN, *Texts*, 87/12. 97/16. 144/15.

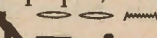
d. Pris ici dans le sens d'estomac.

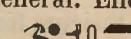
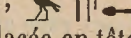
e. Formule qui imite, en la simplifiant, celle qui, dans les textes d'Amarna, est placée après le nom de la reine Néfertiti : SANDMAN, *Texts*, 159/15. Cf. *Id.*, 93/12. 96/3. 156/6. Il s'agit donc bien d'une vraie favorite du roi.

<sup>(1)</sup> C'est sous cette abréviation que SANDMAN, *Texts of the time of Akhenaten* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, VIII), Bruxelles 1938, sera cité dans cette étude. Des

deux chiffres séparés par une barre oblique, le premier indique la page, le second la ligne.

Outre les expressions qu'on vient de relever et la mention explicite du Disque, ce qui caractérise cette formule c'est la première place attribuée, dans la série des souhaits funéraires, à la demande des souffles. Les deux autres *ouchebti* connus de cette époque<sup>(1)</sup>, bien que portant une formule différente coulée dans le moule traditionnel du «proscynème», donnent aussi la même place au même souhait, contrairement à l'ancienne tradition. Une concordance aussi marquée ne saurait être l'effet d'un hasard. Il faut plutôt y reconnaître un trait spécifiquement amarnien, dépendant par conséquent de la dogmatique imposée par Akhenaton.

D'autant mieux que rien de semblable n'apparaît dans le formulaire orthodoxe. Le vœu pour les souffles n'est pas exprimé dans les inscriptions de l'Ancien Empire. Sur les monuments de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, il est encore fort rare. L'un d'entre eux, la stèle d'un certain Sésostris, fils d'Antef, du Musée de Berlin<sup>(2)</sup>, témoigne de l'usage, à cette époque, d'une oraison jaculatoire d'allure populaire :  N Que les doux souffles de Khentamentiou soient à la narine de N!, qui pourrait bien être à l'origine de l'introduction de cette demande dans les textes funéraires.

C'est à partir de la XIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie<sup>(3)</sup>, que la prière pour les souffles, quand elle ne fait pas l'objet d'un «proscynème» particulier<sup>(4)</sup>, s'intercale d'une façon plus fréquente dans la formule du proscynème général. Elle le fait de diverses manières par rapport aux autres éléments,  (et variantes) et  etc, mais dans aucun cas elle n'est placée en tête

<sup>(1)</sup> SANDMAN, *Texts*, p. 177, n° CCVII et CCIX.

<sup>(2)</sup> N° 1188. *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I, Leipzig 1901, p. 181.

<sup>(3)</sup> Si l'on se base, pour répartir chronologiquement les stèles du Moyen Empire, sur le classement des stèles d'Abydos établi par MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, Paris 1880.

<sup>(4)</sup> Par exemple : Berlin n° 1629 (*Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I, Leipzig 1901, p. 161); British Museum, n° 243 (*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, III, Londres 1912, pl. 15); Le Caire, n° 20075 (LANGE et SCHAEFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, I, Berlin 1902, p. 90).

de la formule : généralement même elle l'est à la fin<sup>(1)</sup>. De plus elle use indifféremment des termes <sup>(2)</sup>, <sup>(3)</sup>, <sup>(4)</sup>, <sup>(5)</sup>, <sup>(6)</sup> ou <sup>(7)</sup>, qui semblent parfaitement synonymes.

Il faudra une étude approfondie pour dégager la signification dogmatique de ces indices et préciser les courants d'idées qu'ils reflètent. Retenons seulement le fait saillant : d'un article secondaire de la prière pour les morts, la doctrine amarnienne a fait un élément primordial et, en quelque sorte, liminaire.

L'explication de ce changement est à trouver dans les textes d'Amarna relatifs au sort des trépassés. Deux d'entre eux sont particulièrement instructifs à cet égard :

TOMBEAU D'ÉYÉ  
(SANDMAN, *Texts*, 100/7-12)



TOMBEAU DE TOUTOU  
(Id., 72/8-14)



<sup>(1)</sup> Par exemple dans les stèles du Musée du Caire : n° 20073 (LANGE et SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87), 20149 (*Id.*, I, p. 176), 20327 (*Id.*, I, p. 340), 20334 (*Id.*, I, p. 346), 20395 (*Id.*, I, p. 392), 20540 (*Id.*, II, p. 159), 20681 (*Id.*, II, p. 308), etc.

<sup>(2)</sup> Le Caire, n° 20459 (LANGE et SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, II, p. 58).

<sup>(3)</sup> Le Caire, n° 30342 (*Id.*, I, p. 353). British Museum, stèle n° 185 (*Egyptian Stelae*, II, pl. 44).

<sup>(4)</sup> Le Caire, n° 20073 (LANGE et SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87), 20149 (*Id.*, I, p. 176).

<sup>(5)</sup> Le Caire, n° 30327 (*Id.*, I, p. 340).

<sup>(6)</sup> Le Caire, n° 20059 (*Id.*, I, p. 73), 20240 (*Id.*, I, p. 262), 20266 (*Id.*, I, p. 284), 20334 (*Id.*, I, p. 346), 20395 (*Id.*, I, p. 392), 20476 (*Id.*, II, p. 73), 20540 (*Id.*, II, p. 159), 20630 (*Id.*, p. 268).

<sup>(7)</sup> Le Caire, n° 20681 (*Id.*, II, p. 308), 20694 (*Id.*, II, p. 321).

TOMBEAU D'ÉYÉ (suite)  
(SANDMAN, Texts, 100/7-12)

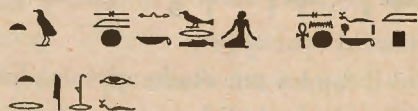


Tu verras les rayons du Soleil lorsqu'il aura lui et qu'il brillera à la porte de ton tombeau.

Tu respireras le soufuffle du vent du nord et il fera prospérer ton corps en vie.

O favorisé, qui as atteint la vieillesse avec les privilèges d'un juste qui a fait ce que disait son maître, tu étais le premier parmi les courtisans du roi : tu seras de même à la tête des Mânes.

TOMBEAU DE TOUTOU (suite)  
(Id., 72/8-14)



Tu te dresseras le matin dans ta Place d'éternité pour voir le Disque lorsqu'il apparaîtra. Tu te laveras et prendras les vêtements comme quand tu étais sur terre.

Tu adoreras le Disque. Il te donnera les souffles, et ses rayons revivifieront ton corps. Tu te lèveras et tu oublieras l'engourdissement. Il vivifiera ton visage quand tu le contempleras.


TOMBEAU D'ÉYÉ (suite)  
(SANDMAN, Texts, 100/7-12)

Tu feras transformation en âme vivante dans la Montagne sacrée d'Amarna, et tu entreras et sortiras au gré de ton cœur.

Ta dignité sera appelée<sup>(1)</sup> sur la terre, et tu feras bonne chère auprès de ton dieu.

TOMBEAU DE TOUTOU (suite)  
(Id., 72/8-14)

Tu accompagneras le Disque comme ses favoris dans la cour du Château de l'Obélisque. Tu feras prostration à ses rayons quand tu seras dans la Place de Justice.

Il faudrait compléter les touches de ce tableau par d'autres passages des inscriptions funéraires d'Amarna<sup>(2)</sup>, qui, sans grande signification pour nous s'ils restent isolés, prennent une valeur précise dans ce canevas. Les grandes lignes en sont claires. Selon la doctrine amarnienne, l'âme du défunt rentrait dans son cadavre pendant la nuit, et le sommeil qui, le Disque disparu, s'étendait sur l'univers était de même nature pour les vivants et pour les morts. C'est probablement plus à la lettre qu'on ne l'a cru jusqu'à présent qu'il faut entendre les détails physiques fournis par l'hymne atonien :  (SANDMAN, Texts, 13/1-8) Lorsque tu te reposes dans l'horizon occidental du ciel, ils se couchent dans la condition d'un mort : leurs têtes sont enveloppées et leurs nez bouchés, jusqu'à ce que tu brilles le matin à l'horizon oriental du ciel. Ni les vivants, ni les morts ne goûtaient donc les souffles pendant leur sommeil. Au réveil, ils commençaient à respirer, sous l'action des rayons dont les mains apportaient la brise de vie. Mais tandis que, pour les vivants, cette résurrection quotidienne se faisait normalement, suivant les lois de la nature, elle s'effectuait, pour les morts enterrés dans la nécropole, par privilège du roi et du dieu. Les rayons du Disque éveillaient chaque

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir plus loin, p. 22, note 3.

<sup>(2)</sup> En particulier les autres colonnes

d'inscriptions qui décorent la tombe d'Éyé, SANDMAN, Texts, 101/1-3. 13-18.



Tous les éléments de la croyance amarnienne sont représentés dans ces textes : la contemplation du Disque, la respiration des souffles, la transformation en âme vivante. Mais la doctrine qui les amalgame est inconsistante, bien qu'ils appartiennent à la même tombe. Si dans le premier texte la respiration des souffles précède la transformation en âme vivante, elle la suit dans le second. Le second texte en attribue, il est vrai, le bienfait au dieu solaire Harakhthès<sup>(1)</sup>, mais aussitôt après il l'implore de Nekhbet, d'Hathor, d'Osiris et d'Anubis, ce qui ouvre autant de ressources au défunt, mais embrouille à plaisir la question dogmatique; le premier texte demande ces souffles à Osiris infernal<sup>(2)</sup> et aux dieux du monde souterrain. Il se révèle un abîme entre l'utilisation «polythéiste» de ces traits traditionnels et leur concentration dans la synthèse monothéiste d'Amarna.

Le texte amarnien de la statuette de la dame Ipy résume les biens essentiels de la survie selon la religion d'Aton : vivification par les rayons du Disque, santé sans cesse renouvelée du corps, sortie de la journée avec le Disque et, dans sa dernière partie, approvisionnement du tombeau<sup>(3)</sup>. A la suite de ce texte, le rédacteur a incorporé une recension du chapitre VI du *Livre des Morts*, mais expurgée de toute mention des travaux du monde souterrain, ce Ⅰ, qui était définitivement devenu un fief d'Osiris. Si on saisit mal les raisons de cette adjonction, les suppressions qu'elles

<sup>(1)</sup> Suivant en cela une vieille tradition qui s'exprime assez curieusement sur une stèle du Moyen Empire, la stèle n° 20075 du Musée du Caire (LANGE et SCHAEFER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 90). L'encadrement de cette stèle rectangulaire porte d'un côté un «proscynème» à Geb, le dieu chthonien, pour des biens dont l'énoncé est détruit. De l'autre, un proscynème à Harakhthès et à Atoum, dieux solaires demande les souffles du nord pour la narine du

dédicant.

<sup>(2)</sup> Conformément à l'oraison jaculatoire pour les défunts mentionnée plus haut, p. 18.

<sup>(3)</sup> C'est du moins l'explication la plus plausible, d'après la séquence chronologique des éléments du texte : après sa sortie avec le Disque, l'âme regagnait son tombeau. Sur le service alimentaire dans les tombes d'Amarna, cf. SANDMAN, *Texts*, 20/7. 41/1. 43/9. 101/3-5. 9-10. 16. 177/5. 178/10.

comporte sont du moins significatives : avec Osiris, tout son royaume de l'au-delà avait été banni de la croyance amarnienne. Il ne restait comme séjour aux âmes des trépassés que leur propre tombeau et les espaces de la plaine d'Amarna.

Dans ces conditions, quel rôle pouvaient jouer les *ouchebti* dans l'équipement d'une momie amarnienne? Leur adoption par la religion nouvelle procédait sans doute pour beaucoup de la persistance d'un usage invétéré, plus puissant, comme c'est souvent le cas dans le culte des morts, que toutes les dogmatiques. Mais ce qu'on sait de la rigueur de synthèse de la religion atonienne donne à penser que cette adoption ne se fit pas sans imposer à ces statuette une valeur en rapport avec la nouvelle croyance. Sur ce sujet toutefois, nous en sommes encore réduits à formuler des hypothèses inconsistantes.

## II

### LA STÈLE DE PANEHSY

(Fig. 1).

Ce monument appartient au plus ancien fonds du Musée du Louvre. Sa provenance est inconnue.

C'est la partie supérieure d'une stèle rectangulaire à gorge égyptienne, en forme de porte, en calcaire. Le fragment mesure environ<sup>(1)</sup> 0 m. 40 de hauteur sur 0 m. 50 de largeur.

La partie concave de la gorge est décorée, comme d'usage, par des languettes verticales; mais le listel qui la surmonte, au lieu d'être lisse, est garni par une bande d'éléments lancéolés, feuilles ou pétales, fixés à une cordelette qui court au sommet<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> L'imprécision de certains détails relatifs à cette stèle vient de l'impossibilité actuelle d'avoir accès à l'original.

<sup>(2)</sup> Sur ce motif, cf. DRIOTON, *Un second prophète d'Onouris*, dans *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, XXV (1921-1922), p. 117-121.









(1) Adoré soit le Soleil, lorsqu'il se lève (2) à l'horizon jusqu'au moment où (3) il se couche en vie<sup>a</sup>! [Qu'il]me[donne] (4) les souffles, [qu'il ressuscite]<sup>b</sup> (5) mon corps, [et que je le voie chaque fois qu'il se lève]<sup>c</sup>!, (6) dit le Directeur du bétail [du temple du Soleil, le prêtre-ouëb Panehsy]<sup>d</sup>. (7) Sa sœur [qu'il aime, la maîtresse de maison]<sup>e</sup> . . . . .

a. Cf. plus haut, p. 17, commentaire c.

b. Cf. SANDMAN, *Texts*, 101/1-2 : . C'est la définition exacte de la « résurrection » atonienne, telle qu'elle a été exposée plus haut, p. 21-22.

c. Restitué d'après SANDMAN, *Texts*, 67/5-6 : (texte rectifié d'après la photographie publiée par DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, V, pl. XXI). Cf. SANDMAN, *Texts*, 3/15-16. 65/2-3.

d. Restitué d'après la ligne 8 du linteau de cette stèle. C'est une anomalie que le principal adorateur d'Harakhthès, à qui la stèle est consacrée, soit le père tandis que le fils tient la première place devant le Disque rayonnant sur le linteau. Ou plutôt on se trouve ici devant une distribution particulière des éléments sous l'influence du dogme atonien. Le père, qui est le défunt, est représenté dans l'ouverture de porte — c'est-à-dire normalement dans l'autre monde — en présence d'Harakhthès en sa figure propre. Il lui adresse une prière de résurrection. Au milieu du linteau s'étale le symbole de la religion nouvelle, le Disque, qui est la forme qu'Harakhthès assume pour se manifester dans le monde des vivants. Aussi est-ce un vivant, le fils du défunt, qu'il a fallu montrer agenouillé devant lui, et les paroles qu'on a mis dans sa bouche sont un raccourci de l'hymne que les vivants récitaient en l'honneur du roi. On a ici, semble-t-il, une transposition, suivant les données de la doctrine d'Amarna, des éléments traditionnels dans la décoration de la stèle sous la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie : le défunt introduit en présence des dieux; le fils célébrant pour lui le culte, et même lui consacrant la stèle avec la mention

etc.

Ce fragment est une pièce archéologique d'une espèce assez rare, car on ne possède encore que très peu de stèles funéraires amarniennes. Les tombeaux d'Amarna n'en comportent pas à proprement parler, je veux dire qui jouent dans la tombe le rôle de l'ancienne fausse-porte. Le tombeau de Mahou possède bien, aux extrémités latérales de son hall, des compositions sculptées qui font figure de stèles : au nord une stèle cintrée<sup>(1)</sup>, au sud une stèle en encadrement de porte<sup>(2)</sup>. Que ce soit une adaptation architecturale des deux types de stèles en usage dans les tombes antérieures de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, il n'y a point de doute; mais ni l'orientation de ces éléments, ni surtout leur décoration — une offrande au Disque par la famille royale dans le registre supérieur et, dans l'inférieur, une représentation de Mahou récitant un hymne au Disque — ne permettent d'y voir des stèles funéraires caractérisées. La stèle détruite de Panehsy, dont l'installation d'une absidiole copte n'a laissé subsister que la gorge de couronnement<sup>(3)</sup>, était bien tournée vers le fond de la tombe et pouvait, de ce chef, jouer un rôle dans la sortie de l'âme. Mais comme toute sa décoration a disparu, il ne saurait être question de raisonner à son sujet. Quant aux petites stèles arrondies qui furent trouvées encastrées dans le porche du tombeau d'Any<sup>(4)</sup>, on a remarqué depuis longtemps<sup>(5)</sup> qu'elles étaient des monuments de dévotion privée, destinées peut-être à suppléer à ce que la piété populaire considérait comme une lacune grave dans le nouvel aménagement des tombeaux : le manque de stèles fausses-portes.

En dehors des tombes d'Amarna, deux stèles funéraires amarniennes, ayant vraisemblablement rempli l'office organique de fausses-portes, pouvaient être citées jusqu'à présent : l'une au British Museum et l'autre au Musée du Caire. La première<sup>(6)</sup> est une stèle-porte surmontée d'une

<sup>(1)</sup> DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, IV, pl. XVI.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Id.*, pl. XXIII.


<sup>(3)</sup> *Id.*, II, pl. XX et XXVI B.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Id.*, V, pl. XXI-XXIII.

<sup>(5)</sup> STEINDORFF, *Vier Grabstelen aus der Zeit Amenophis IV*, dans la *Zeitschrift für altägyptische Sprache und Alter-*

*tumskunde*, XXXIV (1896), p. 63-69.

<sup>(6)</sup> HALL, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, VII, Londres 1925, p. 7 et pl. XV. Publiée antérieurement par SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, Londres 1855, pl. 90.

gorge égyptienne. Un double proscynème au Disque et au Soleil () occupe l'encadrement. Le renforcement porte, en deux registres, des scènes de repas funéraires selon la tradition remontant au Moyen Empire. La seconde<sup>(1)</sup>, provenant de Sakkarah, est de même structure, mais la gorge est détruite et le reste de la stèle assez endommagé. Le linteau est occupé par des personnages, agenouillés ou debout, en adoration devant un amoncellement d'offrandes dont on ne saurait plus dire s'il était surmonté, ou non, par un disque rayonnant. Des proscynèmes au Disque sont gravés sur l'encadrement. Dans le renforcement, le défunt est représenté, recevant en haut des offrandes, et en bas une purification rituelle.

Le fragment du Louvre se rattache à un type différent, dont l'apparition remonte à la période qui précéda immédiatement l'hérésie atonienne, et dont les stèles de Souty et Hor architectes d'Aménophis III, sont les exemples les plus connus<sup>(2)</sup>. Ce type résulte de la fusion des deux formes de stèles qui avaient poursuivi jusqu'alors un développement parallèle : la forme à sommet cintré et la forme rectangulaire à encadrement, issue de l'ancienne fausse-porte<sup>(3)</sup>. La courbure du ciel qui surmonte l'image d'Harakhthès, autrement inexplicable<sup>(4)</sup>, accuse l'appartenance à ce type. Il faut le noter : tandis que, sur les stèles antérieures à l'hérésie, qu'elles soient de l'un ou de l'autre des modèles ici combinés<sup>(5)</sup>, c'est toujours Osiris qui reçoit l'adoration, Harakhthès tient ici la place de ce dieu

<sup>(1)</sup> LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, I, Le Caire 1909, p. 222-224 et pl. LXIX. Cf. SANDMAN, *Texts*, n° CCXII, p. 178-179.

<sup>(2)</sup> Le Caire, n° 34051 (LACAU, *op. cit.*, I, p. 90-93 et pl. XXX) et British Museum, n° 826 (EDWARDS, *British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, VIII, Londres 1939, p. 22-25 et pl. XXI). Cf. VARILLE, *L'hymne au Soleil des architectes d'Aménophis III, Souty et Hor*, dans le *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, XLI (1942), p. 25-30 et pl. I-II.

<sup>(3)</sup> MÜLLER, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, dans les *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, IV (1933), p. 169.

<sup>(4)</sup> Cf. plus haut, p. 30, note 2.

<sup>(5)</sup> Pour le Musée du Caire, par exemple : Stèles rectangulaires, n° 34050 (LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Le Caire 1909, pl. XXX), n° 34054 (*Id.*, pl. XXXII), n° 34055 (*Id.*, pl. XXXIII), etc. — Stèles cintrées, n° 34058 et 34059 (*Id.*, pl. XXXV), n° 34060 et 34061 (*Id.*, pl. XXXVI), etc.

des morts. La substitution à une valeur dogmatique : elle exprime le renoncement aux croyances osiriennes<sup>(1)</sup> et leur remplacement par une eschatologie solaire.

Mais la question se pose alors de savoir à quel stade de la doctrine atonienne il convient d'inscrire ce monument. Appartient-il aux premières années de l'hérésie, lorsque la personnalité divine d'Harakhthès, point de départ et appui des spéculations du jeune roi, tenait encore une place prépondérante dans la doctrine nouvelle ? Ce serait l'hypothèse la plus simple. Pourtant, si ce monument est vraiment, comme il le semble<sup>(2)</sup>, héliopolitain, il n'est pas exclu qu'il puisse dater de n'importe quelle autre période du règne d'Akhenaton. Il semble bien en effet que le clergé d'Héliopolis, après avoir suivi avec enthousiasme le développement des doctrines royales tant qu'il favorisa la glorification de son propre dieu, refusa d'aller plus loin lorsqu'il se trouva en demeure de renoncer par là aux vocables traditionnels d'Harakhthès.

### III


#### LE LINTEAU DE HËTYAÏ

(Fig. 2 et 3).

Ce monument, qui appartient lui aussi au vieux fonds du Musée du Louvre, est une dalle de calcaire, d'environ un mètre de largeur sur 0 m. 35 de hauteur. Son extrémité droite est en mauvais état sur une longueur de 0 m. 25.

<sup>(1)</sup> BREASTED, *The dawn of conscience*, Londres 1934, p. 291. WEIGALL, *Le pharaon Akh-en-aton et son temps* (trad. WILD), Paris 1936, p. 117.

<sup>(2)</sup> La présence d'un titre se rapportant au temple d'Héliopolis ne suffit pas à justifier cette conclusion, puisque Maï, qui porte un titre de ce

genre, a été enterré à Amarna. Mais l'épithète , donnée ici à Harakhthès, ne lui est jamais décernée sur les monuments d'Amarna, car elle contredit à son caractère universel. Elle est au contraire justifiée sur un monument héliopolitain.

Une colonne verticale d'inscription sépare, par le milieu, la surface du linteau en deux cantons.



Présent que le roi donne à Sokar-Osiris, seigneur de Ro-staou. Qu'il donne de sortir en âme vivante pour voir le Disque sur terre<sup>a</sup>!



a. Résumé de la doctrine atonienne exposée plus haut (p. 21-22). L'expression  sur terre désigne le monde des vivants. Elle s'oppose au



Fig. 2.

monde souterrain — réduit au caveau funéraire dans la théologie d'Amar-na — du séjour forcé dans lequel l'âme se trouvait libérée par le fait qu'elle devenait « âme vivante ».

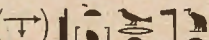
I. — Canton de gauche (fig. 2).



Le dos tourné vers la colonne médiane d'inscription, Osiris-momie siège sur un trône posé sur le degré . Derrière lui, une Isis de taille exigüe lève la main à hauteur du coude du dieu.

Devant Osiris : (𓀀) 

a. Les trois rayons qui descendent du disque sont remplacés par cinq bras.

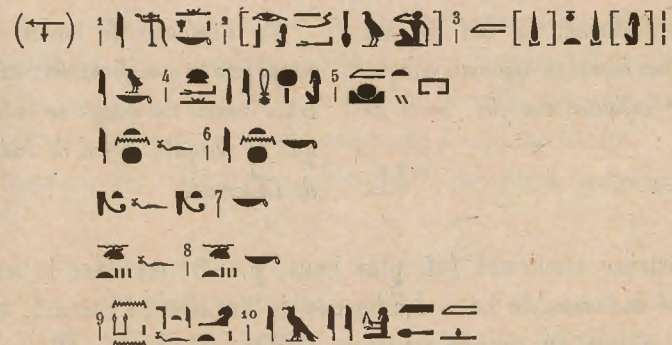
Osiris Khentamentiou, seigneur de la pérennité, prince de l'éternité.

Au-dessus d'Isis : (𓀀)  La grande Isis, mère du dieu.

Un autel  garni est aménagé devant Osiris. Sous sa table, deux vases sont déposés : une aiguière  et une jarre bouchée, dressée sur son support, autour des flancs de laquelle s'enroule un bouton de lotus. Une gazelle décapitée gît par terre.

L'adoration est faite par trois personnages debout. Leurs crânes ras présentent l'allongement caractéristique de l'époque d'Akhenaton.

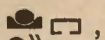
Le premier lève les mains vers Osiris. Il est vêtu d'un long châle à franges plissé, drapé autour des reins. Une écharpe lui traverse la poitrine. Il est chaussé de sandales. Le texte de l'hymne qu'il récite est gravé au-dessus de lui :




(1) Salut à toi, (2) [Osiris, justifié]<sup>a</sup> (3) dans le Tribunal ! (4) Tu te lèves comme le Soleil (5) à l'horizon<sup>b</sup>. Son disque (6) est ton disque, son image<sup>c</sup> est ton image, (7) sa puissance<sup>d</sup> (8) est ta puissance ! (9) Pour le-ka du Père du dieu Hét- (10) yaï, justifié en paix<sup>e</sup>.

a. Cf. par exemple Livre des Morts (NAVILLE), CXXXIV, 15-16 :

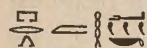
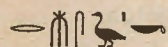
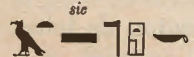
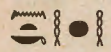


b. , duel purement orthographique (Wb., I, 17).

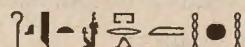
c. Les textes d'Amarna (SANDMAN, *Texts*, 59/11. 75/8. 91/3. 138/11. 169/2. 191/9) emploient le mot  pour désigner le roi, en tant qu'« image » du Disque. La valeur théologique du terme est bien mise en relief, en particulier, par ces textes :

SANDMAN, *Texts*, 71/7-8

*Id.*, 91/3-4




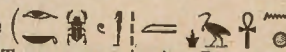
*Tu es l'Éternel. Le ciel est ton temple, dans lequel tu apparais chaque jour pour enfanter ton fils, sorti de ton corps.*





*Tu l'enfantes le matin en même temps que ta manifestation, tu le construis comme ton image en même temps que le Disque, le roi de Justice sorti de l'Éternel.*

La doctrine atonienne (cf. plus haut, p. 28) est donc la suivante : la divinité inaccessible hors des bornes de l'univers, l'Éternel, se révèle tous les matins au monde par une double opération : elle produit le Disque<sup>(1)</sup>, par lequel elle se manifeste elle-même, et en même temps elle enfante le roi comme sa propre image. Pour une autre mention de l'Éternel, cf. SANDMAN, *Texts*, 59/11.

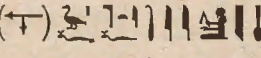
<sup>(1)</sup> Il est impossible de ne pas être frappé par le parallélisme d'expression qui existe entre cette manifestation (*hpr*) de la divinité en un disque qui reçoit l'épithète, si fréquente à Amarna, de  *Disque vivant*, et la manifestation de l'esprit du défunt en

*âme vivante* ( SANDMAN, *Texts*, 100/10). Dans les deux cas il s'agit également d'un esprit extérieur au monde des vivants, qui y est introduit et y jouit de la faculté d'agir.

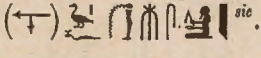
d. Le mot est employé deux fois dans les textes d'Amarna, sous la forme , pour exprimer la puissance du Disque (SANDMAN, *Texts* 95/4) et celle du roi (*Id.*, 84/7). Ici l'orthographe n'a pas proscrit le bélier , comme animal sacré d'Amon (BEHNK, *Grammatik der Texte aus El-Amarna*, Paris 1930, p. 4).

e. SANDMAN, *Texts*, 42/7. 9.

Le second personnage de la scène porte le même costume que le premier. Il offre des deux mains un petit guéridon supportant un cône<sup>(1)</sup>, orné en son milieu par une collerette de pétales, dans laquelle deux fleurs de lotus sont passées. Deux canards vivants<sup>(2)</sup> pendent à son bras.

Au-dessus de lui : . *Son fils, le Père du dieu Tü, justifié.*



Le costume du troisième personnage n'offre qu'une seule variante par rapport aux précédents. Au lieu de l'écharpe traversant la poitrine, il porte autour du cou un collier *ousekh* à deux rangées. Il tient contre sa poitrine un bouquet formé de trois grosses corolles superposées et, à sa main pendante, un canard vivant suspendu à une cordelette.

Au-dessus de lui : . *Son fils, le prêtre-ouëb Môsé, justifié<sup>(3)</sup>.*

<sup>(1)</sup> Ce cône sur un guéridon se trouve dans les représentations des tombes d'Amarna, posé soit parmi les offrandes accumulées dans le temple d'Aton (DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, I, pl. XXXIII. III, pl. X et XXX), soit parmi les offrandes des funérailles (*Id.*, III, pl. XXIII), ou encore porté, comme ici, dans une scène d'oblation au Disque (*Id.*, II, pl. XII). La comparaison avec un cône identique, ceint également d'une collerette, mais dont les détails intérieurs sont indiqués (*Id.*, III, pl. XXI), donnerait à penser

qu'il s'agit en réalité de masses de gâteaux ronds disposés en pyramides.

<sup>(2)</sup> Sur les représentations de ce genre, KEIMER, *Remarques au sujet de l'oiseau *ḏaxwīs* (Hésychius) ou *ḏaxwīs* (Festus)*, dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XLI (1942), p. 319.

<sup>(3)</sup> C'est sans doute ici une faute du lapicide pour , bien que la simple épithète  se trouve aussi sur un monument de même époque, SANDMAN, *Texts*, 134/15, 136/2.








Ce qui fait l'intérêt de ce monument, c'est la teneur de son petit hymne à Osiris. En quelques phrases, l'assimilation de ce dieu avec la divinité d'Amarna est définie avec une précision et une concision toutes théologiques. D'ailleurs ce texte, dont tous les détails témoignent d'une connaissance parfaite de la doctrine amarnienne, émane d'un personnage sacerdotal, et de famille sacerdotale.

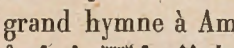










Sa position doctrinale n'est donc pas le fait de l'ignorance ni de l'hésitation. De la croyance imposée par le roi il a tout accepté, et jusqu'aux espérances d'outre-tombe limitées aux horizons du tombeau. Seulement, fidèle à Osiris-Sokaris, il le reconnaît dans le Dieu unique et caché, que la Cour appelait communément le Soleil, dont le Disque était la manifestation et le roi l'image. Akhenaton, par scrupule de théologien, n'avait pas voulu donner de nom propre<sup>(1)</sup> à cette divinité, pas même finalement celui de Dieu, qui lui était apparu entaché de polythéisme<sup>(2)</sup>. Ce fut sa faute de tactique, pourrait-on dire, dans l'établissement de sa religion. Pratiquement, il omit de donner une clef de voûte à l'édifice de sa réforme. A ce sommet chacun, tout en embrassant les doctrines du roi pour ce qu'elles avaient de sublime, de nouveau, ou simplement d'avantageux, put inscrire le nom divin de sa dévotion. Beaucoup sans doute se contentèrent de le faire dans le secret de leur cœur; certains, comme Hétyaï, eurent le courage de l'exprimer sur leurs monuments.

Mais ce fut par là que la réforme d'Akhenaton eut, dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Égypte, une influence dont l'ampleur dépassa de beaucoup

<sup>(1)</sup> Le nom de Rê en effet était un nom commun, «le soleil»; celui de l'Éternel une désignation par métonymie.

<sup>(2)</sup> Le pluriel  est rigoureusement proscrit des textes amarniens : on sait du reste qu'on le trouve martelé sur les monuments au même titre que les noms d'Amon et des divinités de sa triade (N. de G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, Londres 1941, p. 4, note 1). Le mot au singulier eut

lui-même des vicissitudes qui trahissent des discussions doctrinales à son sujet. Il est absent des textes des tombes de Souty et de Parennefer, sauf dans l'expression , qui pouvait passer pour purement protocolaire. Mais cette expression même est évitée soigneusement dans les textes des tombes de Méryrê II, de Houya et d'Any, qui la remplacent par  (SANDMAN, *Texts*, 31/2. 32/9. 37/9. 15. 38/17. 40/3. 4. 67/13).

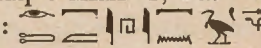
l'importance de son règne éphémère. Elle obligea toute une génération, aussi bien parmi ses adversaires que parmi ses fidèles, à repenser sa religion du point de vue monothéiste et, en disparaissant devant un retour du polythéisme, elle laissa derrière elle une tradition bien enracinée, celle d'un syncrétisme en ce sens. En étudiant des hymnes d'époque ramesside, M. Gardiner a récemment tiré la conclusion que leur monothéisme ne pouvait avoir ses racines que dans les spéculations d'Amarna<sup>(1)</sup>. Certes le monothéisme dont M. Gardiner rassemble les principaux traits est foncièrement solaire et, comme il le note, la mention d'Osiris n'y est qu'occasionnelle. Il se pourrait toutefois qu'elle soit moins absente qu'il ne le pense du grand hymne à Amon de Leide. La phrase  \*           Tu appartiens à la Daït en entrant vers ta momie qui est au tombeau<sup>(2)</sup> paraît bien faire allusion à mots couverts à la doctrine syncrétiste, fréquemment attestée par les textes d'époque gréco-romaine<sup>(3)</sup>, suivant laquelle Osiris était le corps divin dont le Soleil était l'âme. Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est bien aux spéculations d'Amarna — ce linteau de Hétyaï le prouve — qu'il faut aussi rattacher le syncrétisme le plus important, et somme toute le plus difficile à réaliser, de la vieille religion égyptienne : l'identification théologique d'Osiris avec Rê.

Étienne DRIOTON.

<sup>(1)</sup> GARDINER, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, I, Londres 1936, p. 36.

<sup>(2)</sup> GARDINER, *Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus*, dans la *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*,

XLII (1905), p. 14.

<sup>(3)</sup> Par exemple MARIETTE, *Denderah*, II, pl. 153 :  le ciel a été fait comme palais pour son âme et la Daït creusée pour son corps, en parlant d'Osiris.

## DE DIVERS OBJETS EN BRONZE

DES

### MUSÉES DU CAIRE ET DU LOUVRE.<sup>(1)</sup>

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#### I. — ORNEMENTS DE BARQUES.

Le Musée du Caire possède un objet de bronze, inscrit sous le numéro qui fut classé provisoirement dans ses collections en 1919, mais était d'origine antérieure. La provenance est inconnue, aussi bien que sa destination; quant à la date à laquelle il fut exécuté, elle peut varier de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie à l'époque saïte, voire même à une plus basse époque et il y a tout lieu de penser qu'il provient du Delta, des environs de Bubaste sans doute.

C'est un socle rectangulaire, en forme de pilastre (fig. 4), couronné d'une corniche avec le listel et la gorge purement égyptiens, qui rappelle les piliers du temple qu'érigea Amenhotep II, à Karnak, sur le côté oriental de la dernière cour du sud.

Sa hauteur totale est de 0 m. 539; le fût mesure 0 m. 126 × 0 m. 09 de large sous le listel de la corniche et 0 m. 14 × 0 m. 107 à la base, mais, là, le socle s'augmente d'une sorte de marche (0 m. 063 × 0 m. 104), haute de 0 m. 029; socle et marche ne font d'ailleurs qu'un, étant fondus d'une seule venue.

Les faces du pilastre ne sont pas planes, les plus larges sont concaves, les plus petites arrondies au contraire vers l'extérieur. La pièce semblerait s'être affaissée sous une charge latérale, à moins qu'elle n'ait été forcée, de l'intérieur, sur ses petits côtés, ce qui paraît plus vraisemblable. A la

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<sup>(1)</sup> Dessins et photos de M. Pillet.

base, sur le petit côté de ce socle, s'attache une patte terminée en forme de lotus (fig. 5, A), qui est brisée à 0 m. 04 environ au-dessous du socle (fig. 5, a). Sur la face opposée, l'attache d'une patte similaire (fig. 5, B C) se remarque, mais elle est placée à l'intérieur de la pièce et doublée de l'arrachement d'une sorte de tube, tandis qu'à l'extérieur se voient les traces d'un

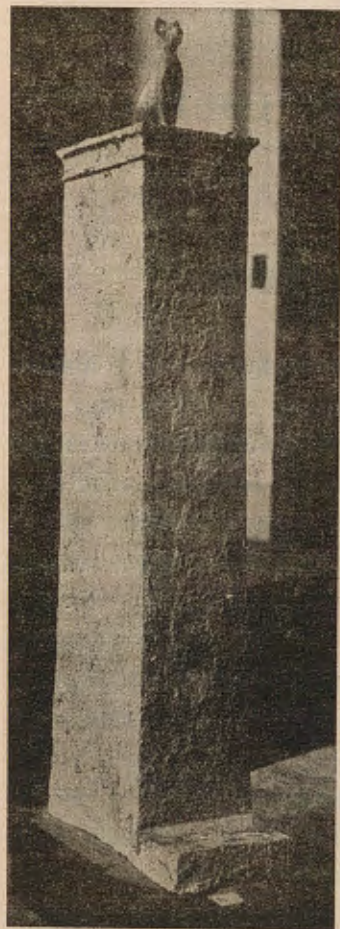


Fig. 4. — Pilastre de bronze, couronné d'un chat. Musée du Caire, n° 116-3.

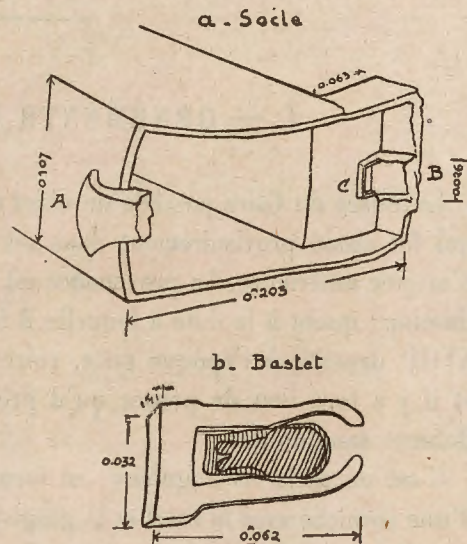


Fig. 5. — a) Croquis de la base du pilastre, montrant l'arrachement des pattes de fixation; b) Croquis de l'encastrement de la statuette sur la plate-forme.

ornement assez large, probablement en forme de lotus.

La plate-forme supérieure de ce socle s'orne d'un petit chat de bronze, haut de 0 m. 09, fondu à part et fixé dans une saillie en U, à rainures (0 m. 062 x 0 m. 032, épaisse de 0 m. 004) (fig. 5, b et fig. 6). Ce chat est tourné vers la marche de base. En avant de lui, près du rebord de la plate-forme et de chaque côté de l'animal,

sont deux autres saillies à rainures, plus petites (0 m. 089 x 0 m. 014), où venaient se fixer deux ornements disparus aujourd'hui.

Ce félin, de bonne facture, nous ramène à Bubaste dont la déesse Oubastet (Bastet) était la divinité tutélaire, donc au Delta, ce qui correspond

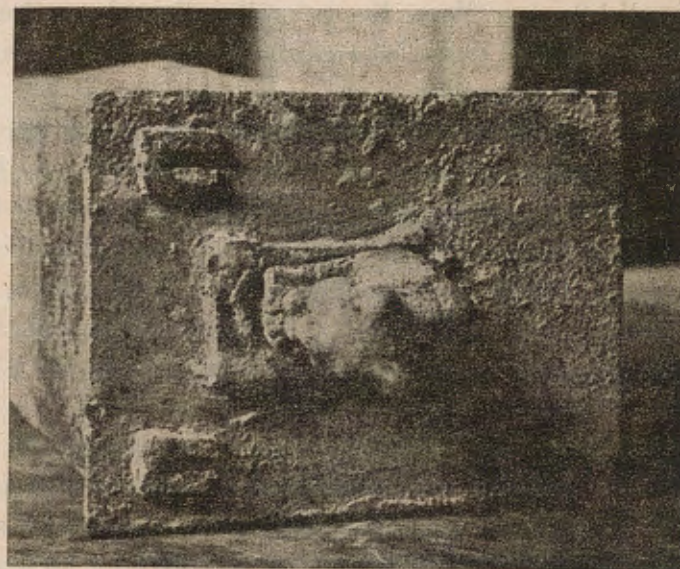


Fig. 6. — Plate-forme supérieure du pilastre, montrant les encastements de fixation du chat et de deux autres emblèmes disparus.

bien à la destination de cette pièce. C'était, en effet, le motif décoratif et l'autel ornant la proue d'une barque.

La silhouette ordinaire des barques fluviales, égyptiennes, est allongée et fine, offrant des pointes avant (étrave) et arrière (étambot)<sup>(1)</sup> plutôt basses, mais il n'en est pas de même des barques de mer<sup>(2)</sup>, ni des barques

<sup>(1)</sup> *Étrave* : forte pièce de bois, droite ou courbe, qui forme l'avant d'un navire. Elle s'assemble dans la *quille*, qui s'étend sur toute la longueur du bateau et forme sa partie inférieure. L'*étambot*, implanté dans la quille, la continue obliquement ou verticalement à l'ar-

rière. Ces trois pièces maîtresses forment la charpente longitudinale de la *coque*.

<sup>(2)</sup> L. BORCHARDT. *Sahuré*, II, pl. IX, XII et XIII, reproduites par M. Ch. BOREUX, *Études de nautique égyptienne*, Mém. I. F. A. O., Le Caire 1925, fig. 184, 185 et 187.

solaires ou des barques des morts. Celles-ci, au contraire, possèdent des proues et des poupes relevées et souvent terminées par des ornements variés.

Les modèles de barques du Musée du Caire, publiées par G. A. Reischer<sup>(1)</sup>, en montrent plusieurs exemples typiques, provenant de Meir (Gosou) ou d'el-Berchah (Moyen Empire) et l'un d'eux, le numéro 4916, possède un petit autel<sup>(2)</sup> tout à fait comparable à la marche placée au bas de la pièce que nous étudions.

Pour celle-ci, enfoncée à force sur la pièce de bois verticale qui formait l'étrave de l'embarcation, elle y était solidement maintenue par la patte de bronze, dont il ne subsiste plus que l'amorce. Cette patte de fixation (fig. 5, A) devait être assez longue, épousant la forme de l'arrière : celle opposée (fig. 5, B), devait être coudée à angle presque droit, ce qui explique sa rupture au ras du socle, et se fixer sur le pont du bateau. Une cheville dépassante venait, en outre, se placer dans le tube C (fig. 5) et consolider l'ensemble.

Sur la petite plate-forme inférieure, ou marche, on déposait soit un vase de boisson rafraîchissante, soit des offrandes à l'emblème divin placé au sommet, ce qui explique la position du chat regardant vers l'intérieur de la barque. C'est d'ailleurs l'orientation adoptée pour les figures de poupes des barques sacrées, bien que, parfois, la figurine de proue regarde, elle aussi, vers l'intérieur du bateau.

Cette identification pourrait paraître hasardée, si nous n'avions d'autres modèles de proue et de poupe d'embarcations égyptiennes plus voisines de la nôtre. Or, il en existe une au moins tout à fait semblable, donnant le motif d'un chat juché au sommet d'un pilastre à corniche, le tout placé à la proue d'une petite embarcation à rames. La seule différence est que le chat, placé sur l'étrave, est tourné vers l'avant : ce qui s'explique d'ailleurs par l'absence d'autel pour les offrandes ou libations.

C'est dans l'ornementation d'une coupe, dite *chypriote*, du Musée de Berlin (n° 14117), que nous trouvons cette représentation, dont

<sup>(1)</sup> G. H. REISNER, *Models of ships and boats. Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire*. Le Caire 1913, en particulier les numéros 4847, 4848 4860 et 4896.  
<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 268; *Altar*, p. 72.

l'analogie avec le bronze du Musée du Caire est frappante<sup>(1)</sup> (fig. 7).

On voit sur le pourtour intérieur de cette coupe quatre barques, dont la première hèle les autres, chargées l'une d'un prince sans doute, la suivante de musiciennes et la dernière de fleurs, de boissons et de vivres. La pre-

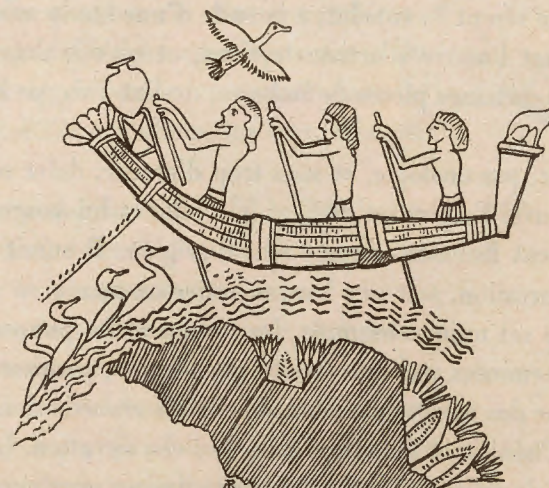


Fig. 7. — Embarcation avec proue décorée d'un chat. Musée de Berlin, n° 14117, d'après Schäfer.

mière embarcation, enlevée par trois rameurs, a sa proue ornée d'un chat, tandis qu'auprès de l'arrière, relevé en éventail, est placé un vase de boisson.

C'est une barque fluviale, puisqu'elle navigue parmi les canards et les lotus ; construite en roseaux, à en juger d'après la forme de sa poupe, les traits longitudinaux et les ligatures transversales de la coque, elle était peut-être raidie par une pièce de bois formant étrave où était fixée la colonnette au chat.

Nous ne connaissons pas d'autre motif décoratif, égyptien, aussi voisin

<sup>(1)</sup> SCHÄFER, *Aegyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten, Königliche Museen zu Berlin*, p. 65 et pl. 15, qui donne deux belles photogravures. Cette coupe de 0 m. 166 de diamètre et de 0 m. 034 de profondeur, fut découverte, en 1876, par Cesuola, dans un tombeau situé près d'Agios Georgios (Golgoi) à Chypre.

du nôtre, aussi est-ce lui qui a déterminé l'identification que nous proposons et que nous croyons certaine.

Cependant, l'âge et la provenance de cette coupe sont fort controversés, puisque d'abord classée dans les objets phéniciens, elle fut ensuite attribuée à l'Égypte par Pietschmann, von Bissing et Schäfer<sup>(1)</sup>. M. P. Montet, dans un ouvrage récent<sup>(2)</sup>, conclut, à la suite d'une étude minutieuse, en disant qu'elle est l'œuvre d'artistes syriens, et qu'elle date du Nouvel Empire, comme certaines pièces de Bubaste, de Hat-Yaia, de Byblos et de Ras-Shamra.

On peut donc, par analogie, et sans trop d'erreur, dater notre bronze de la fin du Nouvel Empire ou de l'époque saïte et lui assigner le Delta, vraisemblablement Bubaste, comme lieu d'origine. Il aurait décoré soit une petite embarcation, soit une barque votive ou sacrée.

En dehors de cet unique exemple, les proues et les poupes verticales, généralement terminées par une étroite plate-forme, paraissent avoir été la caractéristique des navires parcourant la Méditerranée orientale, sur les côtes de Syrie-Phénicie et pénétrant dans le Delta égyptien. Leurs formes sont différentes de celles des embarcations et navires purement égyptiens, qui circulaient sur le Nil et les canaux du Delta.

Pour celles-ci, en effet, proues et poupes se relevaient en formes arrondies en col de cygne, souvent rejetées vers l'intérieur du bateau, et leur coupe en plateau est rare, sauf dans les barques votives ou solaires. Ces formes d'étrave et d'étambot, arrondies et fragiles, étaient d'ailleurs justifiées par la destination fluviale des embarcations égyptiennes, qui n'avaient pas à supporter, soit à l'avant, soit à l'arrière, les rudes coups des vagues, qui frappent les bateaux de mer.

La navigation côtière semble avoir été, au contraire, une sorte de monopole phénicien et ces navires à extrémités verticales, qui venaient s'amarrer dans les ports égyptiens du Delta, étaient montés par des

<sup>(1)</sup> *supra*, p. 49.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Les reliques de l'art syrien dans l'Égypte du Nouvel Empire*. Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 76, Paris 1937, p. 151-157 et fig. 190-193, avec ré-

férences à SCHÄFER et à VON BISSING, *Eine Bronzeschale mykenischer Zeit et Aegyptisch oder Phoinikisch*, dans *Arch. Jahrbuch*, XIII, 34-35 et XXV, 193-199.

Syriens-Phéniciens. La tombe n° 162 de Drah-Abou'l-Nagah, découverte en 1895 et dessinée par G. Legrain<sup>(1)</sup>, nous montre une scène d'arrivée de bateaux de commerce phéniciens en Égypte.

Tous ont la proue et la poupe verticales : à l'avant de l'un, le pilote s'appuie à la haute poupe, tandis que dans la dernière embarcation, il est juché *debout sur elle*, tenant à la main une longue perche et commandant la manœuvre : à l'étrave elle-même une jarre est attachée.

Nous reproduisons ici (fig. 8) le joli dessin de G. Legrain, exécuté d'après l'original, au moment de sa découverte.

Ces formes de navires phéniciens sont d'ailleurs bien connues, depuis la découverte du palais de Khorsabad et de ses bas-reliefs, par P.-E. Botta, il y a un siècle<sup>(2)</sup>. Trois d'entre eux, exposés dans les collections assyriennes du Musée du Louvre, sous les numéros 43, 44 et 45, si souvent reproduits, montrent une flotte phénicienne transportant des bois de construction, tantôt posés et attachés sur les extrémités des navires, tantôt attachés en remorque à la poupe.

Cette poupe est toujours terminée par une plate-forme, connue dans les barques de Drah-Abou'l-Nagah (n° 162), tandis que la proue s'orne d'une figure de cheval,



Fig. 8. — «L'homme de sonde». Tombe n° 162 de Drah-abou'l-Nagah, d'après G. Legrain.

<sup>(1)</sup> G. Daressy se servit des dessins et des aquarelles de G. Legrain pour illustrer divers articles relatifs à cette découverte en 1895 ; *Rev. Arch. et Bull. Inst. Égypt.*, puis, en 1931, dans *Costumes phéniciens d'après des peintures égyptiennes*, *Rev. Égypt. anc.*, III, p. 20-35, Paris 1931, mais paru en 1939 seu-

lement. *L'histoire de la Marine*, publiée par *L'Illustration*, Paris 19.., reproduit aussi, p. 30, *L'homme de sonde* de G. Legrain, donné ici, fig. 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> P. E. BOTTA et E. FLANDIN, *Monument de Ninive...* (Paris 1849-1850), pl. 32, 33 et 34.

remplacée par une tête de lion (égyptien) ou d'oiseaux (étrangers) sur les vaisseaux de guerre de Médinet-Habou <sup>(1)</sup>.



Fig. 9. — Proue de bronze ornée d'une Sekhmet. Musée du Caire.

Le mât porte, au sommet, un *nid de pie*, où se tenait, au besoin, soit un veilleur, soit un archer. Ce mât, amovible, était souvent enlevé pour les besoins du chargement, comme on le voit dans les reliefs de Khorsabad, où, alors, les pièces de bois posées sur la proue et sur la poupe, y sont attachées et servent à raidir l'ensemble du navire. Quand, au contraire, le mât était dressé, il était maintenu par deux étais (cordages) s'amarrant à l'étrave et à l'étambot.

Les embarcations de plaisance égyptiennes, du Delta, se contentèrent d'imiter les formes phéniciennes, mais leurs proues et leurs poupes, surélevées, ne furent plus qu'un ornement décoratif, sans utilité pratique.

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\* \*

Cette première identification nous permet celle d'un second bronze semblable, exposé au Musée du Caire <sup>(2)</sup> (fig. 9).

Une Sekhmet debout (h. : 0 m. 184), couronnée du disque solaire avec l'uræus, se tient sur un socle adossé à un robuste obélisque. La hauteur totale de la pièce est de 0 m. 508. La base présente les arrachements de trois tenons (fig. 10, a, b, c et fig. 11), comparables à ceux du bronze au chat, mais, de plus possède deux pieds (?) : elle

<sup>(1)</sup> Mur extérieur N. E. de la 2<sup>e</sup> cour du grand temple. — <sup>(2)</sup> *Journal d'entrée*, n° 52575.

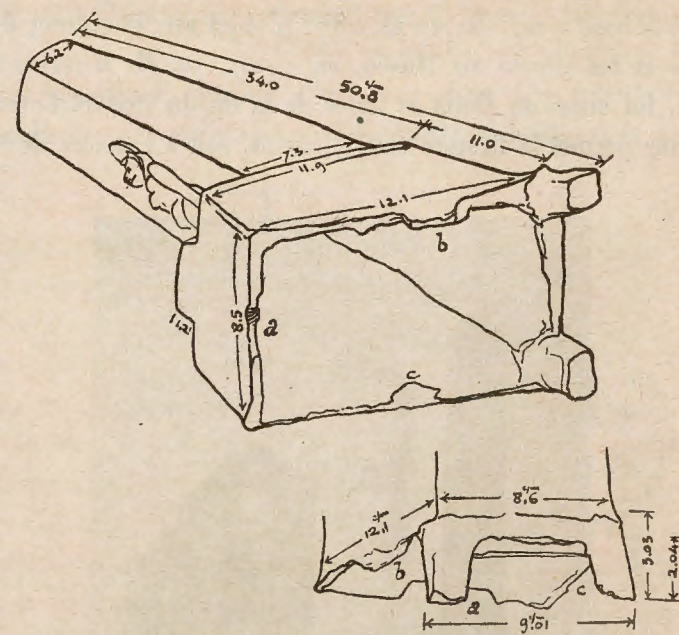


Fig. 10. — Croquis de la proue de bronze n° J. 52575, vue d'en-dessous.

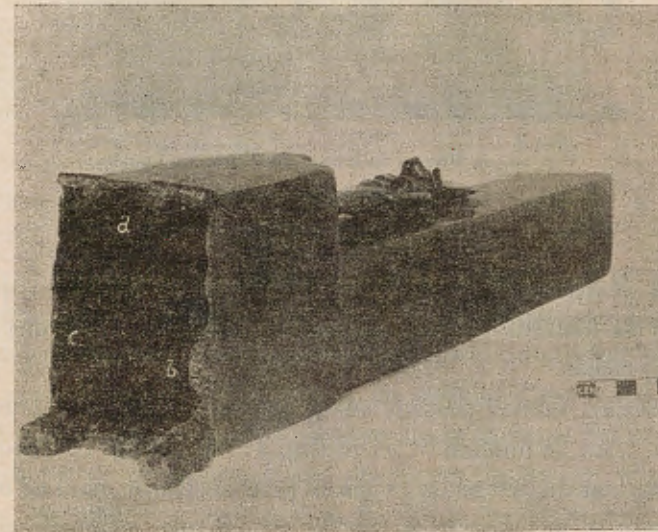


Fig. 11.  
(Phot. Serv. Antiq. Caire).

mesure à la base 0 m. 121×0 m. 087. L'objet est, là encore, d'origine inconnue et fut donné au Musée, en 1929, par M. Kélèkian. Il doit provenir, lui aussi du Delta et dater de la fin du Nouvel Empire.

Sa forme permet la fixation soit à l'avant, soit à l'arrière de l'embar-



Fig. 12. — Proues de bronze du Musée du Louvre :  
1-N. 5178, 2-E. 5782.

cation, la déesse étant tournée vers l'intérieur du bateau : quant aux pieds (?) ils peuvent être les extrémités d'un décor ou d'une pièce du bateau lui-même.

Le Musée du Louvre possède aussi, dans ses collections, deux bronzes similaires. L'un, le numéro N. 5178 (fig. 12, n° 1 et fig. 13), acquis avant 1857, provient du Sérapéum : c'est un petit obélisque, haut de 0 m. 214, dont la base (0 m. 055×0 m. 028) s'orne d'une Sekhmet assise. Cette base est malheureusement scellée dans un socle de marbre, ce qui ôte la possibilité de constater l'existence de tenons. De petits trous percent de

place en place l'obélisque, indiquant que le bronze était fixé à une tige de bois.

L'autre, numéro E. 5782 (fig. 12, n° 2 et fig. 13), représente le haut d'un obélisque auquel s'adosse une Bastet debout, mais brisée aux

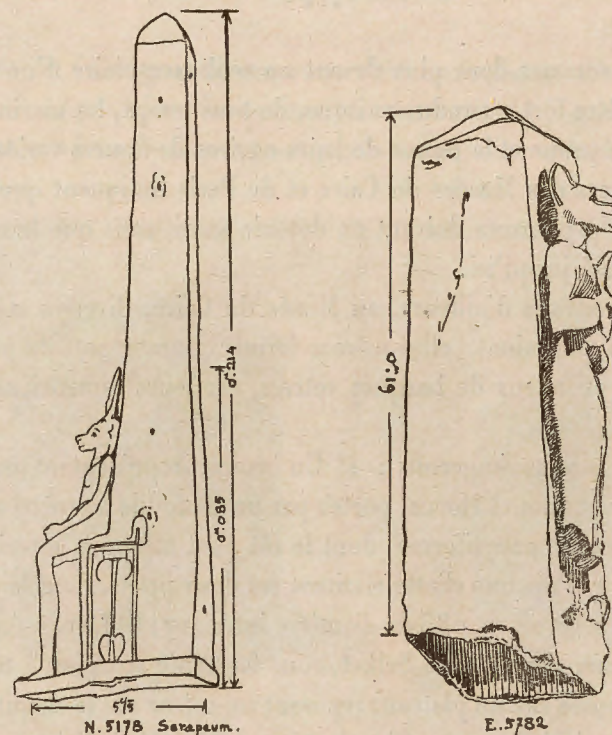


Fig. 13.

genoux. Ainsi mutilée, la pièce n'a plus que 0 m. 19 de hauteur totale, l'obélisque mesurant 0 m. 045×0 m. 045 à la base.

Ces deux petits bronzes ne pouvaient décorer que des barques votives, ce que confirme, d'ailleurs, l'origine du premier d'entre eux.

Le Musée du Louvre renferme encore divers chats ou Bastet de bronze, accroupis sur un socle peu épais, en forme de contrepoids de collier (Menat), en particulier les numéros E. 3656 (h. : 0 m. 10) et E. 3919 (h. : 0 m. 083), dont le socle correspondait à ces tenons flexibles signalés sur la pièce du Caire, décrite en premier lieu.

Un autre encore, de grande taille (h. : 0 m. 25 environ), où la queue du félin, ramenée en avant, jusque devant les pattes, pouvait former ressort et s'encaster dans un logement ménagé à cet effet.

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Nous ne sommes donc plus devant un seul exemplaire d'un ornement, qui devait être fort répandu, puisque, de tous temps, les marins aimèrent à décorer la proue et la poupe de leurs navires de figures variées.

Les bronzes des Musées du Caire et de Paris indiquent que les autres collections égyptiennes doivent en détenir aussi, sans que leur usage ait été déterminé jusqu'ici.

Nous retrouvons d'ailleurs, au Musée du Caire, diverses statuette de bronze, qui pouvaient, elles-mêmes former l'ornement de petites embarcations, ou mieux de barques votives, car leurs dimensions sont fort restreintes.

Parmi elles nous rangerons : 1° Un bronze représentant une barque des morts avec naos et Horus, portée par un crocodile accroché au sommet d'une colonnette papyriforme, dont le fût peut mesurer, intérieurement, 0 m. 052 ; 2° Puis une chatte allaitant ses deux petits, dont la colonnette de support mesure 0 m. 035 de diamètre intérieur ; 3° Le numéro 4613 du *Guide sommaire* « Une déesse Selket, sous forme de scorpion à tête et bras humains », posée sur un plateau, reposant lui-même sur le chapiteau d'une colonnette, qui n'offre guère plus de 0 m. 02 d'entrée inférieure ; 4° Enfin, dans la vitrine S. 4, le numéro J. 8662, n° 4656 du *Guide sommaire* : « Jolie statuette d'Ichneumon assis sur son train de derrière, au sommet d'une colonnette.- Saïs ».

Toutes ces figurines offrent la particularité d'être posées sur le chapiteau d'une colonnette dont le fût est coupé à peu de distance de lui et d'être destinées à orner l'extrémité soit d'une tige de faible grosseur, comme notre 3, n° 4613, soit à être fixées au bout d'une pièce de bois, ronde, plus forte. Rappelons, pour mémoire, les abouts de rames et de poteaux de gouvernails des barques sacrées, ornées de têtes d'Horus ou les enseignes qui se dressaient autour de leur châsse.

## II. — EMBASES OU EMBLANTURES DE PAVILLON

### D'EMBARCATION.

Le Musée du Caire possède en outre deux exemplaires d'un objet de bronze, dont on peut fixer la destination avec certitude (fig. 14, A et B). Ils diffèrent peu l'un de l'autre, soit par la taille, soit par le décor et sont

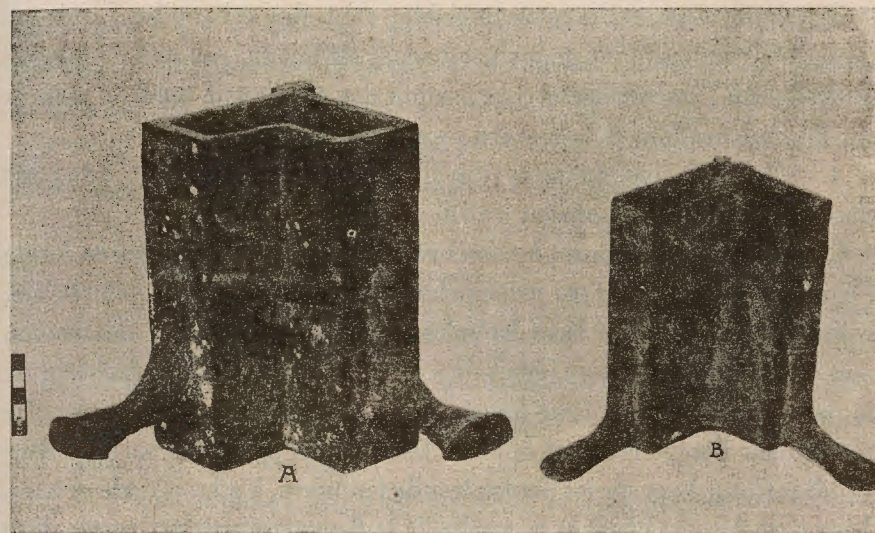


Fig. 14. — Deux embases de bronze du Musée du Caire, J. 27037 (Photo Serv. Ant. Caire).

exposés parmi un lot de vingt pièces de bronze<sup>(1)</sup>, indiqués comme provenant de portes : pivots gonds, crapaudines et équerres d'angle, mais ne peuvent, en aucune manière, leur être assimilés, quant à leur destination.

<sup>(1)</sup> Une partie de l'ensemble des ferrures de porte représente un achat fait à un certain Saïd, en 1887 (n° J. 28381), et les deux autres pièces,

que nous étudions ici, furent inscrites sous le numéro J. 27037, don de M. E. Brugsch.



Ils sont bien faits pour assujettir et raidir des pièces de charpente, mais celles-ci ne faisaient pas partie d'une porte.

On les retrouve au *Journal d'entrée*, inscrits sous le numéro 27.037. — «Pièces d'angle, — don de E. Brugsch — bronze — deux morceaux de cette forme (ici un dessin en forme de tuile faîtière) provenant d'une porte puis, on a rayé porte, au crayon, et on a inscrit *Naos?* H. : 0 m. 20, h. : 0 m. 15.»

La provenance est donc inconnue, mais la présence de trous de clous, dans les pattes de fixation, indique une basse époque : saïte ou gréco-romaine.

Ces deux pièces, d'usage semblable, sont des échantillons uniques d'objets s'employant au moins par paires, ou mieux, par lots de quatre, et destinés à l'assemblage et à la fixation des pavillons à tendelet montés sur les embarcations de plaisance ou sur les barques sacrées.

A. — La plus grande pièce du Musée du Caire (n° J. 27.037) fut classée dans les collections en 1885.

C'est un tube de bronze, à parois rectangulaires, dont la section forme l'équerre (fig. 14, A); ses principales dimensions sont : hauteur totale, 0 m. 193, largeur des faces latérales, 0 m. 108, épaisseur des parois, 0 m. 003 environ. Un tore, épais de 0 m. 025, amortit l'angle extérieur de la pièce, tandis qu'une forte boucle (0 m. 014 de diamètre), courbée, se soude dans l'angle rentrant opposé. Deux pattes terminées par une fleur de lotus s'attachent sur les petits côtés de l'équerre, à 0 m. 035 de sa base. Leur sous-face est plane et la corolle de la fleur terminale est percée d'un trou destiné à laisser passer un clou ou cheville solide.

Cette disposition montre que toute la base du tube était encastrée dans une pièce de bois ou dans un plancher sur lequel venaient s'appuyer et se fixer les deux pattes. Dans cette emplanture solide, on logeait alors l'about des bois verticaux formant l'angle et leur propre poids suffisait à les maintenir.

Nous n'hésitons pas à voir, dans ce bronze, l'une des embases ou emplantures de pavillon à tendelet qui décoraient les barques égyptiennes, non seulement en raison de son décor de lotus, mais surtout à cause de l'absence de tout plancher dans les temples ou les maisons de l'Égypte antique, qui ne connurent que les dallages de pierre ou le sol de terre

battue, recouvert parfois d'enduits peints et décorés. On est donc naturellement incliné à penser que les bordages ou le pont des barques fluviales ou sacrées purent seuls recevoir ces embases.

Il semble, en outre, que la boucle fixée à l'angle intérieur ait été destinée à l'attache d'un hamac de repos, dont la traction aux quatre angles, bien contre-butée par les pattes de fixation, assurait plus de rigidité à l'ensemble. Nous retrouverons un anneau semblable dans l'un des bronzes du Musée du Louvre, que nous étudions plus loin.

B. — Le second bronze au Musée du Caire (fig. 14, B), classé sous le même numéro que le précédent, est plus petit et moins soigné d'exécution. Sa hauteur totale est de 0 m. 15, sa largeur de 0 m. 095; il comporte le même tore d'angle et les deux pattes de fixation, mais celles-ci sont terminées par un simple élargissement arrondi, percé d'un trou de clou; leur point d'attache ne laisse qu'une profondeur de 0 m. 007 d'encastrement. Il ne comporte aucune attache dans l'angle rentrant.

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Les collections du Musée du Louvre nous fournissent neuf objets semblables, offrant d'intéressantes variantes entre eux et avec ceux du Musée du Caire (fig. 12 et 14).

C. — Sous le numéro N. 884 (A, B, C, et D), sont inscrits: «Quatre pièces d'usage inconnu», entrées avant 1857 dans les collections égyptiennes.

1° N. 884 (A et B), ce sont deux bronzes (fig. 15, 1 et 17, 1) avec tore, mais dont l'angle intérieur est remplacé par une partie cylindrique, concave vers l'extérieur. Le tube, fermé à la base, a 0 m. 11 de haut et 0 m. 75 de côté, plus le tore. Il ne possède pas de pattes de fixation, mais un fort tenon carré, long de 0 m. 083, épais de 0 m. 034, 0 m. 033 à sa naissance et de 0 m. 03, 0 m. 022 à l'extrémité. C'est le goujon qui, s'encastrant dans le plancher ou le bordage de la barque, maintenait le poteau vertical, lequel s'assemblait à force et ne pénétrait pas dans le plancher.

2° N. 898 (A, B et C) «Trois pièces ayant servi de ferrures» (fig. 15, 2,

17, 2 et 13), antérieur à 1857. Ces bronzes ressemblent beaucoup à l'échantillon du Musée du Caire décrit en premier lieu, mais présentent avec lui des variantes notables.

La hauteur totale est de 0 m. 0113, la largeur de 0 m. 058 plus le tore de 0 m. 013, mais si chacun d'eux possède une attache intérieure et un tore

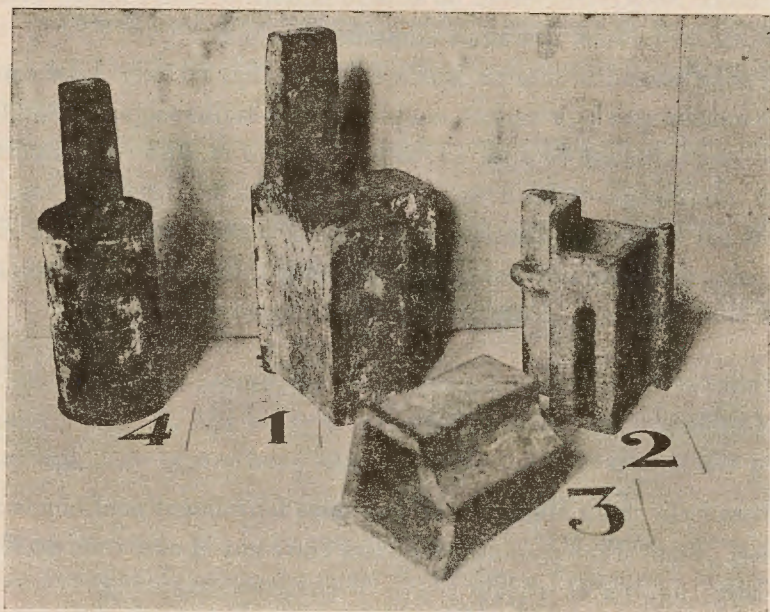


Fig. 15. — Quatre embases diverses, en bronze, du Musée de Louvre. (1, 2 et 4, à tenon, vues d'en-dessous; — 3, fourrure, vue d'en-dessus.)

d'angle, il n'a pas de pattes de fixation. Les pièces s'encastraient de 0 m. 028 dans le plancher vers l'extérieur et du double à l'intérieur, où cette base formait tenon. Comme dans la pièce précédente, l'angle de ces ferrures, opposé au tore, est remplacé par une partie cylindrique, concave.

Deux traverses de bois, horizontales, venaient en outre s'encastrer dans les petits côtés de l'équerre et consolider l'ensemble; une légère saillie des faces indique que ces barres d'assemblage avaient une épaisseur de 0 m. 035.

Le potelet de bois, qui venait s'encastrer dans ces fourrures de bronze, ne les traversait pas, mais s'arrêtait sur une butée (R, fig. 16) au niveau

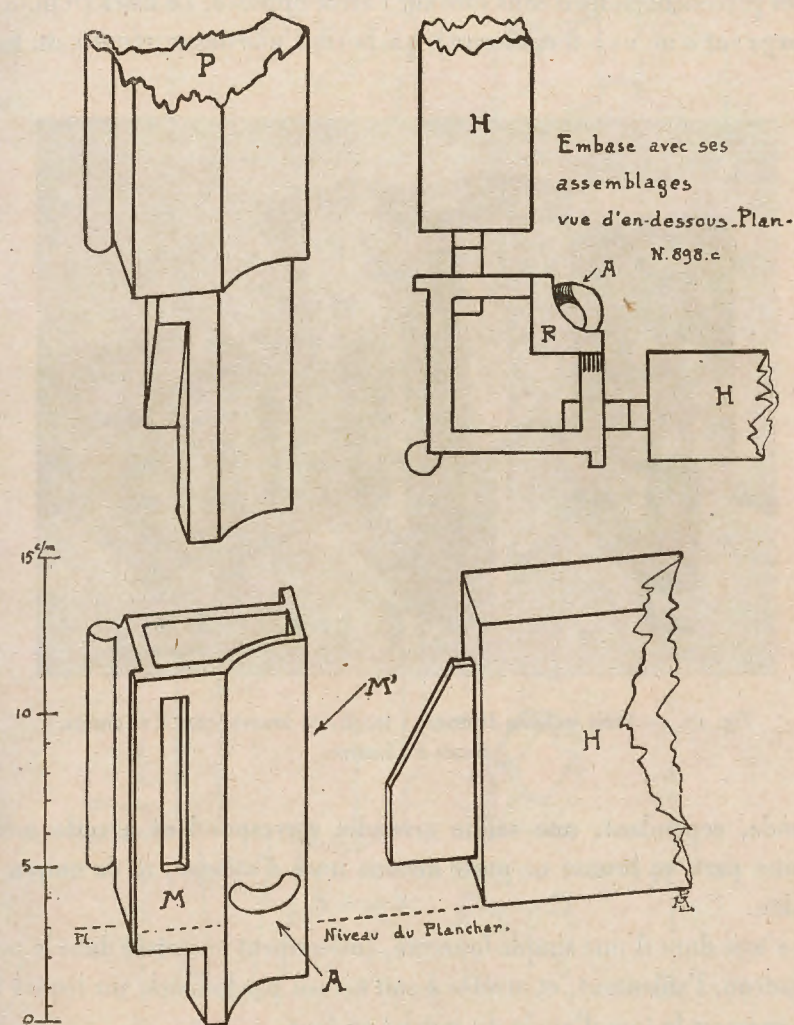


Fig. 16. — Embase N. 898 c (Louvre), avec les traverses horizontales (H, H') et le potelet (P) s'y encastrant.

du plancher et serrait les tenons des pièces horizontales (H et H'), qui s'appuyaient d'autre part sur la paroi intérieure du tube.

3° N. 884 (C et D). Ces deux petits bronzes semblables (fig. 15, 3 et 18), sont des tubes rectangulaires, hauts de 0 m. 09 et mesurant 0 m. 051 à 0 m. 052 de côté, ils offrent la même partie cylindrique concave que les pièces précédentes, mais sans tore sur l'arête opposée. Le listel (0 m. 025 de large sur 0 m. 015 d'épaisseur), qui borde l'une des extrémités du tube



Fig. 17. — Trois embases diverses, à tenon, en bronze, vues d'en-dessus. Musée du Louvre.

possède, cependant, une saillie arrondie correspondant à cette arête. D'autre part, ce bronze ne porte aucune trace d'attache, ni de moyen de fixation.

Il s'agit donc d'une simple fourrure, entièrement encastrée dans le pont du bateau, l'affleurant, et arrêtée à son niveau par le listel, sur lequel venait se poser le tore d'angle du potelet en bois.

4° I. 897 (A et B). «Deux pièces cylindriques avec tenon»: entrées avant 1857 (fig. 15, 4 et 17, 4).

Nous nous trouvons là devant deux bronzes destinés au même usage que les précédents, mais nettement différents. Leur hauteur totale est de 0 m. 178, la partie haute mesurant 0 m. 105, est un cylindre de 0 m. 057

de diamètre extérieur et de 0 m. 044 à l'intérieur, décoré d'une série de tambours arrondis et fermé à sa base. Un fort tenon carré, long de

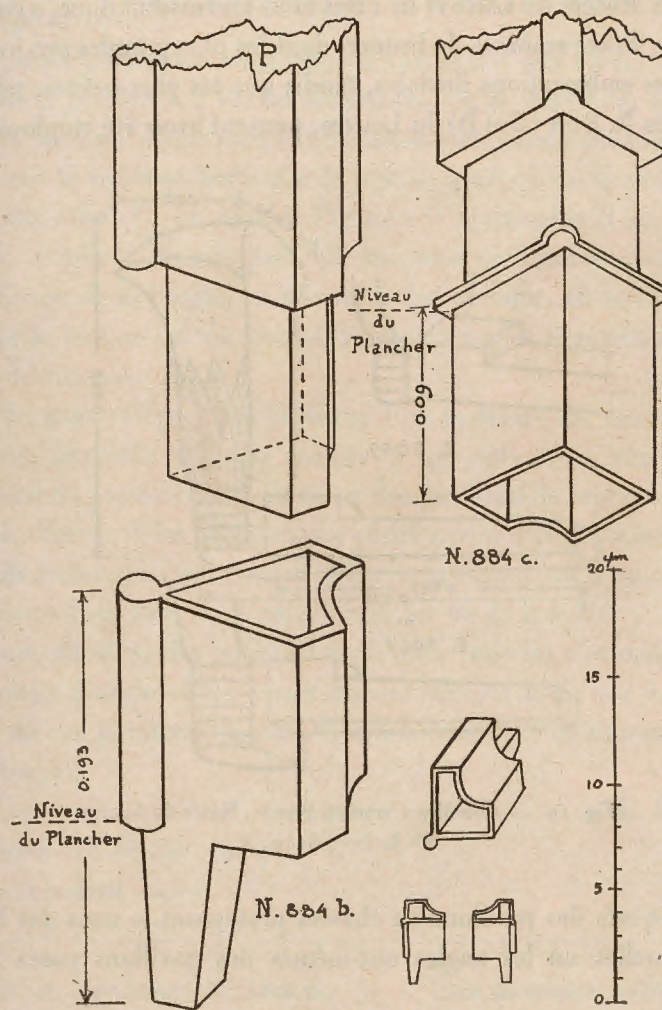


Fig. 18. — Deux embases de bronze. Musée du Louvre n° N. 884 b et N. 884 c

0 m. 065, épais de 0 m. 025 à la base et de 0 m. 022 à l'extrémité, fixait la pièce dans le plancher ou le bordage. Le poteau d'angle, qui s'y enfonçait, était rond.

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Les deux Musées du Caire et de Paris nous fournissent donc, à eux seuls, six variétés de ces embases de bronze, dont les plus grandes servirent sans doute à des embarcations fluviales, tandis que les plus petites, telles que les numéros N. 884 (C et D) du Louvre, peuvent avoir été employées pour

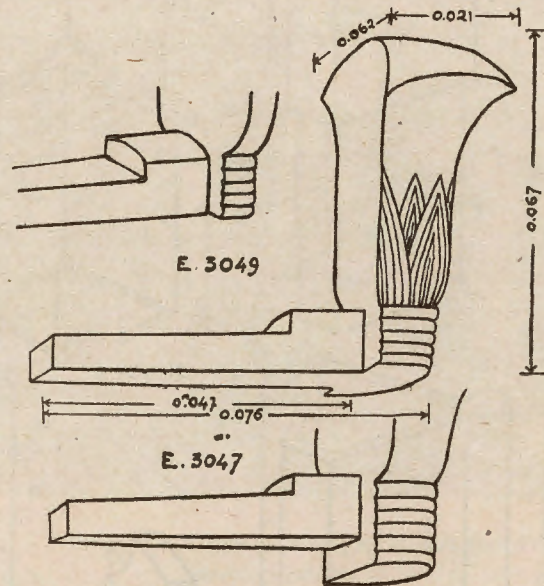


Fig. 19. — Chevilles à crochet. Bronze, Musée du Louvre n° E. 3047-3049.

fixer les piquets des pavillons ou châsses protégeant le naos des barques processionnelles ou les angles eux-mêmes des pavillons posés sur ces barques.

Nous pouvons ranger aussi trois autres petits bronzes du Musée du Louvre dans la catégorie des pièces de marine : ce sont les numéros E. 3047, 3048 et 3049, offrant l'aspect d'un demi chapiteau papyriforme ou d'une fleur de lotus entr'ouverte, au dos duquel s'attache une forte cheville, l'ensemble formant un robuste clou à crochet (fig. 19).

L'un d'eux (E. 3049) a 0 m. 067 de hauteur totale et 0 m. 062 en

tête; l'autre (E. 3047), 0 m. 07 et 0 m. 067 en tête, la tige ou goujon horizontal ayant de 0 m. 066 à 0 m. 075 de longueur. Un renfort arrêta la pénétration de ces clous dans le bordage, à 0 m. 015 environ du revers de la tige décorée.

Ces pièces paraissent avoir servi à suspendre des agrès, ou encore, fixées sur le plat-bord, à border les avirons. Si, au contraire, elles étaient fixées sur la coque d'une barque processionnelle, elles servaient à attacher celle-ci sur le traîneau porté par le pavois, ainsi qu'on le remarque sur maints bas-reliefs<sup>(1)</sup>. Un bloc de l'époque d'Aménophis II ou de Thoutmès III, réemployé dans la paroi du lac sacré de Toud et découvert par M. F. Bisson de la Roque, en donne un bel exemple, où la cheville d'attache de la barque est un bouton rond sur lequel viennent se fixer les cordes de retenue.

Une dernière catégorie de bronzes, dont le Musée du Louvre possède une paire incrustée d'émaux colorés<sup>(2)</sup>, complète cette série de pièces ayant servi à l'assemblage et au décor des pavillons de barques sacrées.

M. Ch. Boreux<sup>(3)</sup> les décrit ainsi : «deux pièces d'angle, à incrustations de motifs imbriqués, qui formaient les deux extrémités d'une corniche à gorge (haut d'un naos ou d'un coffre en forme de naos).»

Ce sont, en effet, des *angles de corniche* où venaient s'assembler la tête des poteaux d'angle et les barres horizontales en bois, qui formaient la toiture de ces pavillons ou châsses, *démontables*, qui entouraient le naos processionnel.

M. PILLET.

Le Caire, 18 février 1939.

Paris, 22 avril 1939.

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir en particulier G. LEGRAIN, *Les temples de Karnak*, 1929, fig. 92, 124, 125, 131, 133 et 139, où ces embases sont bien visibles.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Salle des colonnes*, vitrine XI, angle N. E. en haut.

<sup>(3)</sup> Musée du Louvre, *Antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris 1932), II, p. 626.

UNE  
**PLAQUETTE DE LA XXII<sup>E</sup> DYNASTIE** <sup>(1)</sup>  
 APPARTENANT À LA COLLECTION  
**DE SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI FAROUK I<sup>ER</sup>.**

Monsieur le D<sup>r</sup> Ét. Drioton a bien voulu me confier la publication d'une plaquette curieuse en stéatite émaillée (fig. 20) qui vient d'être acquise par S.M. le Roi Farouk I<sup>er</sup>. Cette plaquette minuscule mesure en tout 18 mms. de longueur sur 12,5 de largeur et 6,5 de hauteur. Toutes les six faces de ce curieux objet sont couvertes de scènes finement gravées et même ses coins, légèrement arrondis, portent un motif décoratif. Les faces, bien planes, sont d'une couleur verdâtre et les sujets gravés sont d'un vert plus foncé mais toujours dans le même ton. La description de cet objet n'offre pas de difficultés d'autant plus qu'il existe une plaquette qui lui est absolument identique<sup>(2)</sup> à

part quelques légères variantes dans la composition des sujets ou dans

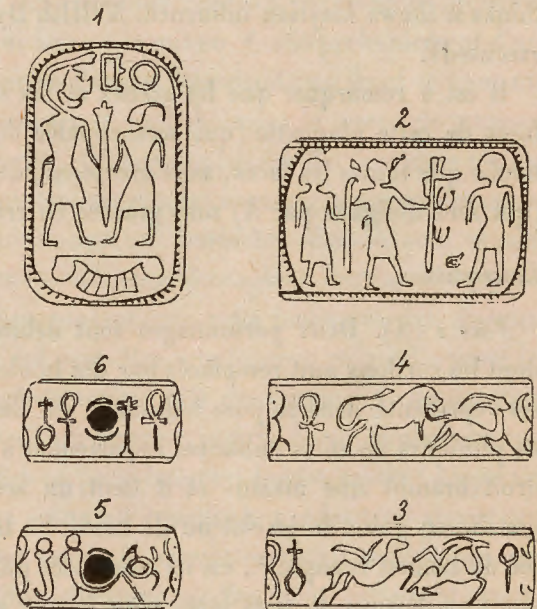


Fig. 20.

<sup>(1)</sup> Les dessins sont dus à la plume d'Ahmed Eff. Sidky, dessinateur attaché au Service des Publications du Musée.

<sup>(2)</sup> Mr. WARD's, *Collection of Scarabs*, in *P. S. B. A.*, XXIII, 1901, p. 83, n° 339, pl. XIII.

les signes qu'elle porte. Cette seconde plaquette appartient à la collection des scarabées de M. Ward qui l'a publiée en 1901 et voici intégralement la description qui en a été donnée :

« Remarkable rectangular bead, steatite, with green grounding, engraved in *intaglio* on *obv.* and *rev.*, and in *relief* on four edges. *Obv.*, war-god Reshpu, with spear and mace; smaller figure opposite with ☉ above; nub « golden », underneath. *Rev.*, same figures with a third one, king crowned for Lower Egypt. Various hieroglyphs. On edges : (1) griffin hunting antelope, (2) lion hunting oryx, (3) kneeling figure with bird's head and a fish's tail and, (4) ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀. Good work, especially fine on edges. No explanation has been found for this fine specimen, which is unique. From Sakkarah or Dahshûr. Dr. Petrie thinks it shows Assyrian influence. XVIIIth Dynasty or earlier, beautifully executed ».

Il est à remarquer que les scènes et les signes recouvrant les petites faces de cette plaquette (qui sera appelée dorénavant B) sont en relief, tandis que toutes les faces, sans exception, de la plaquette de Sa Majesté (qui sera désignée par A) sont gravées en creux.

*Description :*

*Face 1 (A).* Deux personnages sont debout sur un grand signe dont les cordons sont remplacés par des boules. Le personnage de gauche est représenté dans la pose habituelle du dieu *Rechef* qui est aussi celle de plusieurs divinités militaires appartenant à un même cycle<sup>(1)</sup>. Son bras droit brandit une massue et il tient un sceptre lotiforme de sa main gauche en guise de javelot ou de lance. Sa tête, qui est d'habitude coiffée du bonnet conique<sup>(2)</sup>, est ici remplacée par un scarabée posé obliquement au-dessous du bras levé, pour former avec les signes le pré-nom bien connu de Thoutmès III *Mn-hpr-R'*, inscrit verticalement mais

<sup>(1)</sup> On connaît d'autres cas de rois égyptiens qui se sont faits représenter sous la forme de Réchef sur des scarabées, comme par exemple : Fl. PETRIE, *Scarabs and cylinders with names*, pl. XII, n° 7; et *Buttons and design scarabs (scarabs*

*with king and gods)* pl. XV, n° 988.

<sup>(2)</sup> J. LEIBOVITCH, *Quelques nouvelles représentations du dieu Réchef*, dans *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXXIX, p. 145.

couché au-dessus des deux personnages. Le roi divinisé porte un pagne court et ce qui semble être la queue de taureau n'est n'autre qu'un instrument suspendu à son épaule puis retenu à hauteur de ceinture. Ce détail est caractéristique du dieu *Rechef*<sup>(1)</sup>. Le personnage qui lui fait face est également vêtu du pagne court. Ses bras sont très courts par rapport à ceux du dieu et pendent de chacune de ses épaules sans tenir aucun objet. Il est dépourvu de toute coiffure et ses cheveux retombent en arrière comme s'il était coiffé d'un bonnet pointu.

Sur la plaquette B la scène est identique. La reproduction faite par Ward ne permet pas cependant de distinguer si le dieu est surmonté d'une tête humaine ou d'un scarabée.

*Face 2 (A).* Cette scène est composée de trois personnages debouts dont le principal est celui qui occupe le milieu. Coiffé probablement d'un casque ou d'un bonnet, il porte l'uræus très visible au front et tient un sceptre. Il porte le pagne court et probablement la queue de taureau quoique de dimension très petite. Un personnage lui fait face mais n'offre rien de particulier. C'est peut-être un sémite, à en juger par son menton pointu qu'on pourrait prendre pour une barbiche. Mais sa pose et son vêtement ne trahissent aucune influence étrangère. Derrière le roi se trouve une troisième personne portant une robe longue et des cheveux plus touffus. Cette personne est peut-être une femme, vu qu'elle porte la robe plus longue, allant légèrement au delà des genoux et elle tient un long sceptre, peut-être une simple canne ayant la partie supérieure recourbée ou un sceptre. Est-ce peut-être une épouse royale? La partie la plus intéressante de cette scène est constituée par les trois signes qui sont placés devant le sceptre royal. A première vue, il semble que ces signes forment une inscription hébraïque où l'on peut facilement reconnaître deux *v* suivis d'un troisième signe qui pourrait être un *v*. Du point de vue paléographique, il est impossible de faire un rapprochement de ces signes avec leurs correspondants en phénicien ou même en araméen.

<sup>(1)</sup> Fl. PETRIE, *Meidum and Memphis*, chef, *Annales du Service des Ant.*, XL, III, pl. XXXIX, n° 5 et p. 39; J. LEIBOVITCH, *Un fragment de stèle dédiée à Ré-* p. 489.

Ils ressemblent trop au biblique carré et ceci n'est dû qu'à un pur hasard. Il existe, par contre, des scarabées du roi Sheshonq I<sup>er</sup> sur lesquels le nom du roi est écrit exactement de la même manière (fig. 21), ou à peu près<sup>(1)</sup>. Le nom de ce roi s'écrit de plusieurs manières :



Fig. 21.

𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓<sup>(2)</sup>. Le nom de son grand-père paternel s'écrivait : 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓. Mais comme les noms des autres Sheshonq appartenant à la même dynastie (la XXII<sup>e</sup>) s'écrivent aussi de différentes manières, il serait difficile de dire auquel des quatre Sheshonq appartiennent les deux petites plaquettes A et B. Les deux 𐀓𐀓 de la plaquette A sont suivis d'un signe difficile à identifier mais qui pourrait être un 𐀓 un peu arrondi. Sur la plaquette B ils sont suivis de deux signes pour lesquels il serait difficile de donner une explication<sup>(3)</sup>.

La plaquette appartient donc à l'un des Sheshonq de la XXII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et le nom de Thoutmès III n'a été mentionné sur la face 1 que comme un souvenir lointain d'un roi qui a été divinisé.

Face 3 (A). Cette scène nous présente deux animaux en plein galop, un griffon ailé poursuivant une antilope ou peut-être une *Capra egagrus* aux cornes recourbées en arrière qu'on rencontre souvent dans les scènes de chasse sur les objets trouvés dans le palais de Minos à Knossos<sup>(4)</sup> ainsi qu'à Mycène. On ne peut pas distinguer exactement la nature de la tête du griffon sur la plaquette A, mais il semble, sur la plaquette B que ce soit une tête de vautour. Or les griffons à tête de vautour apparaissent en Égypte à partir du Nouvel Empire<sup>(5)</sup>. En examinant les antilopes des deux plaquettes on peut se rendre compte du fait qu'elles sont ailées, ce qui semble assez rare; ces ailes sont en forme de V renversé sur la plaquette B et par conséquent on ne peut pas les prendre pour une

<sup>(1)</sup> Fl. PETRIE, *Historical scarabs*, London 1889, pl. 56, n° 1775.

<sup>(2)</sup> H. GAUTHIER, *Le Livre des Rois*, III, *Mém. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or.*

<sup>(3)</sup> Il se peut qu'on ait gravé le nom ššq auquel on aurait ajouté le signe 𐀓 = seigneur.

<sup>(4)</sup> A. EVANS, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, London 1935, IV, p. 834.

<sup>(5)</sup> J. LEIBOVITCH, *Quelques éléments de la décoration égyptienne sous le Nouvel Empire*, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXV, 1943, p. 191.

forme simplifiée de l'arbre sacré comme sur la gaine du poignard de Tout 'Ankh-Amon (fig. 22)<sup>(1)</sup>. Il s'agit donc de deux animaux fantastiques.

Face 4 (A). On voit ici une scène exécutée dans le même style que la précédente, représentant un lion poursuivant une antilope non ailée. Sur les deux plaquettes, le lion est sur le point de poser une patte sur l'antilope. Il n'y a aucune raison de confondre cette dernière avec un oryx vu que ses cornes sont curvilignes.



Fig. 22.

Le thème du griffon poursuivant d'autres animaux est déjà connu; on le voit dans cette attitude sur un cylindre trouvé à Tell el-Addjul (Gaza) datant de Thoutmès III ou d'Aménophis III<sup>(2)</sup>. Sur une plaque de bronze trouvée à Tyr et conservée actuellement au Musée du Louvre, le griffon est représenté dévorant un lion<sup>(3)</sup>. Sur la tunique de Tout 'Ankh-Amon<sup>(4)</sup> les griffons sont aussi reproduits dans l'attitude de dévorer d'autres ani-

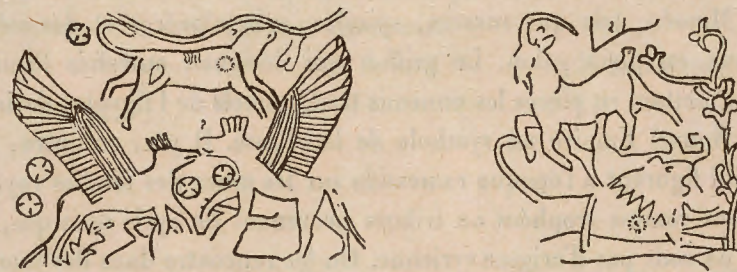


Fig. 23.

maux (fig. 23). Le plein galop, qui n'est presque pas connu sous cette

<sup>(1)</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 27, pl. I, (1941).

<sup>(2)</sup> Fl. PETRIE, *Ancient Gaza*, III, p. 4, pl. IV, 127; J. NOUGAYROL, *Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine*, p. 17, n° XXXVI, pl. VIII, T A, 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art.*, III, p. 318; P. MONTET, *Les reliques de l'art Syrien dans l'Égypte du Nouvel Empire*, p. 131.

<sup>(4)</sup> G. M. CROWFOOT et N. de G. DAVIES, *The Tunic of Tut 'Ankhamūn*, *J. E. A.*, 27, p. 113.

forme dans les scènes de l'Ancien et du Moyen Empire, est probablement dû à une influence de source crétoise qui a dû s'exercer avant l'apparition de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Les traces de cette influence deviennent palpables quand on considère que pour la hache au griffon du roi Ahmès on ne connaît pas de prototype en Égypte. Sur plusieurs

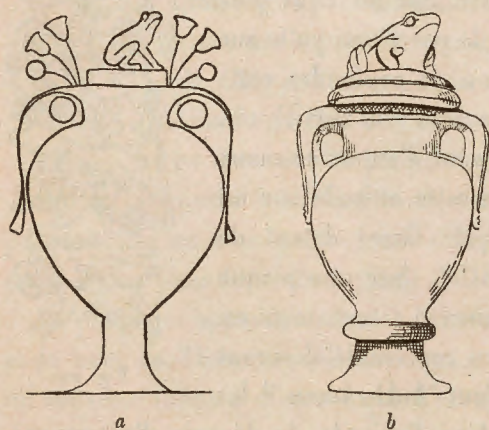


Fig. 24.

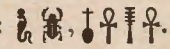
objets provenant des tombes de Maherpra, d'Aménophis II, Thoutmès IV, Aménophis III, de Louiya et de Touiyou, de Tout 'Ankh-Amon et, de même, dans les reliefs de quelques tombes thébaines appartenant à des nobles de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie (comme Khaemhet et autres) on reconnaît l'emploi fréquent de thèmes décoratifs qu'on retrouve en Crète à la fin du


Moyen Minoén, tels que rosaces, spirales, arbres sacrés et des scènes d'animaux en plein galop. Le griffon qui désignait autrefois l'animal fabuleux mettant en pièces les ennemis traditionnels de l'Égypte, devient, sous le Nouvel Empire un symbole de la vitesse. Il y a, en outre, des objets qui figurent à l'époque ramesside sur les murs des tombes royales de Thèbes comme trophées ou tributs provenant de Syrie mais qui, en réalité, ne sont pas d'origine syrienne. On les rencontre dans des tombes de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et si leur système décoratif n'est pas d'importation égéenne ou crétoise directement, il consiste en un motif d'origine antérieurement égyptienne, repris et travaillé sous Aménophis III ou aux environs de son règne, par des ouvriers étrangers. Tel est le cas d'un vase à la grenouille (fig. 24) qui est un exemple frappant de cette curieuse fusion<sup>(1)</sup>. C'est ce style auquel on a voulu faire allusion sur nos pla-

<sup>(1)</sup> a) WRESZINSKI, II, 154, 27 (Medinet Habou); MONTET, *Reliques de l'art...*, p. 56; SCHÄFER, *Die altäg. Prunkgef.*,

p. 18, fig. 39 etc.; b) J. E. QUIBELL, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu, Cat. Gén.*, pl. XXIV, n° 51102.

quettes A et B en l'associant au nom de Thoutmès III, à une époque où l'industrie de l'ivoire sculpté battait son plein en Asie Mineure. Les éléments qui constituent le système décoratif des plaquettes d'ivoire de Samarie, d'Arslan-Tash, de Nimroud et de Megiddo (qui sont peut-être un peu plus anciennes) portent des traces évidentes d'influences égyptienne et crétoise, influences qui y furent transmises par le contact avec l'Égypte et à travers le continent grec. Ceci explique la présence des scènes d'animaux sur les petites faces des plaquettes A et B dont le style correspond exactement à son époque.

*Faces 5 et 6 (A).* Ces deux faces portent en leur centre les trous de la perforation de la plaquette. Sur la face 5 le trou semble être entouré d'un serpent uræus comme l'est souvent le disque solaire ☉. Les signes que portent ces faces sont : .

Les faces 3 et 4 portent les signes suivants : , et les coins portent un décor qui ressemble un peu au signe des nuages sur les cylindres syro-hittites. Mais ces derniers ont toujours trois boucles et même plus, tandis que le décor de la plaquette n'en a que deux.

La conservation de l'objet est excellente.

J. LEIBOVITCH.



## A DONATION STELA OF THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY.

The history of this article goes back to a visit which I paid to Mr. M. Hamza, First-Keeper of the Cairo Museum. He knew that I had made some study of hieratic, and he showed me a photograph of the lower part of a stela which might interest me. Glancing over the inscription, I at once grasped its importance, and after discussing its subject with Mr. Hamza, I begged him to allow me to retain the photograph for a closer study. This I made together with Dr. Černý to whom I owe certain useful remarks and suggestions. Mr. Hamza's favour did not stop at drawing my attention to this stela, but he has kindly allowed me to publish the results of my study. I cannot thank him too warmly for the facilities I received from him.

According to Mr. Hamza, the stela which bears *Journal d'Entrée*, No. 85647 in the Cairo Museum, comes from Kôm Firîn in the Western Delta. It is a round-topped stela of limestone, measuring  $49 \times 31.5 \times 13$  cms. A small portion of the surface has suffered damage from natural causes, while in two places the text has been deliberately erased, thus obliterating the name of the owner of the stela, as well as the first half of the hieratic text.

The stela belongs to the well-known class of stelae written in hieratic and commemorating pious donations of lands to temples or divinities. Such stelae are known to have been in use in the New Kingdom and in the Late Period; the earliest known examples date from the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, but it was only in the XXIInd Dynasty that they

became quite common<sup>(1)</sup>. This is borne out by the fact that out of the thirty five examples published<sup>(2)</sup> and known to me, eighteen belong to the XXIIInd Dynasty (including the one with which we are dealing), three to the XVIIIth and the XIXth Dynasties, two to the XXIVth and the XXVth, and the rest to the XXVIth Dynasty. From the point of view of style, they may be said to fall into groups, each characterised by different formulae of curses and blessings invoked. I would refer the reader to SOTTAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120 and to MÖLLER, *Sitzungsber, Berlin*, 1910, pp. 939-941 for the study of the peculiarities of earlier and later stelae covering the period from the XVIIIth to the XXVIth Dynasties. MÖLLER, *op. cit.*, p. 939 draws attention to the interesting point that no hieratic stela of similar nature is associated with the XXIst Dynasty<sup>(3)</sup> and attributes this significant absence to the restriction of the use of hieratic to religious inscriptions.

The interest of the stela we are dealing with lies in the fact that it contains certain formulae that occur here for the first time, and one of the longest and most varied assortment of curses to be found in a single document. Some of the curses are derived from texts dating as far back as the XIIIth Dynasty, while some are of later date<sup>(4)</sup>.

Apart from the king's cartouche, there is no explicit indication in the inscription itself as to the date of setting up the stela. Such information is usually given in the opening lines of the text. Unfortunately a space equal to that of five lines of the existing text has been completely erased, thus blotting out the first half of the inscription. The same misdeed is responsible for our ignorance of the amount or value of the donation.

<sup>(1)</sup> See SOTTAS, *La Preservation de la Propriété Funéraire dans l'Ancienne Égypte*, p. 145.

<sup>(2)</sup> Seven of which are, however, inscribed in hieroglyphs.

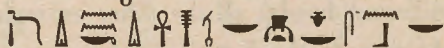
<sup>(3)</sup> There is a doubtful case dating from the XXIst Dynasty and published by SOTTAS, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

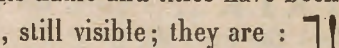
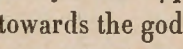
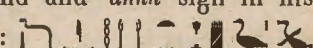
<sup>(4)</sup> I refer to the curse of the "devour-

ing flame" which is found on a XIIIth Dynasty stela, cf. MACIVER, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, pl. 29, 6. This curse occurs also in the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus, R. O. FAULKNER, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, III, 24, 12-13; 16-17; 25, 11-12; 31, 24, and later in S. SCHOTT, *Urk. Myth. Inhalts*, 9, 8; 17, 6; 53, 7. (cf. commentary, note f).

The hieratic forms, which contain no ligatures, cannot be dated earlier than the XXIIInd Dynasty.

We shall now proceed to give a detailed description of the stela.

At the top is the sign — of heaven following the curve of the top, and below it is the winged sun-disc flanked by uræi and ♀ signs protecting the king's cartouche (⊙ | ♂) placed in the centre. Under the bottom of the left hand wing is incised ☰ | ☽ = *Behdeti, the Great God, Lord of Heaven*<sup>(1)</sup>. Under the king's cartouche a single vertical line divides the scene into two parts. It reads :  Utterance, I give to thee all donation, life, stability, welfare, all joy and all health, Sheshonk ??...

To the right, the owner of the stela who wears a curled wig, a collar and a short kilt is holding Δ the symbol of donation to the god Heka<sup>(2)</sup>. He originally wore a feather on his head denoting that he was a Lybian chief<sup>(3)</sup>. Above him, the inscription giving his name and titles have been erased. A few traces of signs are, however, still visible; they are :  "prophet" and  . . . . "Heka" . . . He is advancing towards the god who faces him. The latter is shown in the form of a man with close-cut hair, holding a was sceptre in his left hand and 'ankh sign in his right. Above his head the inscription reads :  Utterance by Heka<sup>(4)</sup> in the midst of the Palace<sup>(5)</sup>, the male son<sup>(6)</sup>, coming out in peace, created of Sobek, born of Sakhmet, the Great, given life forever.


To the left of the vertical inscription is seen Sakhmet lion-headed and crowned by the sun-disc and uræus and holding the papyrus sceptre

<sup>(1)</sup> The visible traces under the right end of the wing suit an identical inscription.

<sup>(2)</sup> He is the personification of Magic, see GARDINER, *PSBA*, 37, 253-262; 39, 134-137.

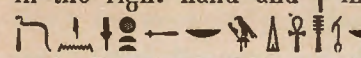
<sup>(3)</sup> See Oric BATES, *Eastern Lybians*, also Spiegelberg, *Rec. tr.*, 25, 194.



<sup>(4)</sup> In later times son of Sakhmet. On

a donation stela this god is written , concerning which SPIEGELBERG, *ZAS*, 56, 58 did not recognise the identity of the god thinking that he is a Lybian god.


<sup>(5)</sup> I am unable to say what is here meant by the "Palace".

<sup>(6)</sup> For this pleonastic use of t;y cf. ERMAN, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 129.

in the right hand and ♀ in the left. In front of her is inscribed :  
 Utterance by Sakhmet, the Great, Mistress  
of the Two Lands, Mistress of the West, given all life, stability and welfare.

Before Sakhmet stands a man clad in a long garment playing on a lyre which has nine strings attached to a semi-circular sounding-board. The bar which holds the pegs terminates at one end in the head of a lioness surmounted by the sun-disc and in a goose-head at the other. This is the first instance of a musical instrument surmounted by two different heads; all the other examples I have examined show one head. As regards the lioness-head, we can suggest that it represents the local deity who was identified with the falcon. S. Schott points out that this falcon stands for *Hnty-Ir-ty*, the god of lyres in Letopolis<sup>(1)</sup>. The goose-head with an open mouth, however, is symbolic of *singing*, since in later period it stands for the verb  *dd*, which means *to speak* or *to sing*. It is not unlikely that the word *dd* — meaning *to sing* — was originally  *d:d:t*<sup>(2)</sup>, the word for lyre, and, after a series of changes, took the form *dd*.

COMMENTARY.

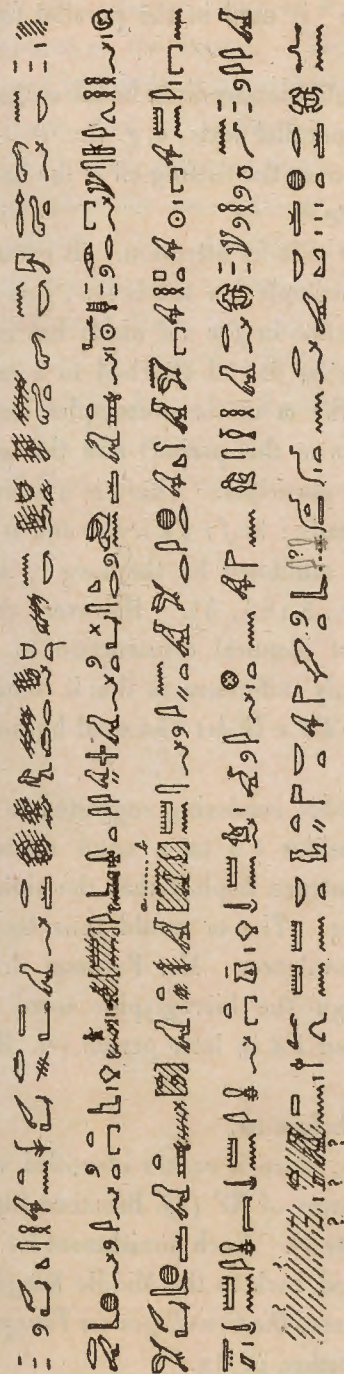
a) The visible traces  suggest the word *ht*, at the end of the lacuna, which occurs in line 3 of the text. We cannot, however, claim that the suggested restoration gives the actual words used.

b) Other texts invariably give *nk sw* ‘, that is to say “an ass shall violate him” which is more reasonable — and in the Berlin Museum there is a statue No. 7984 (*Ausführ. Verz.* (Berlin 1899), p. 307), showing an ass violating a woman. In either case, the reason of mentioning it refers certainly to the indignity of the action.

Černý calls my attention to the fact that in oaths and promises the *sdm-f* form in Late Egyptian expresses a future action, while, otherwise, when independent, it has invariably a past meaning. When referring to future, the *sdm-f* form may be followed, as in our text, by another *sdm-f*.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mélanges Maspero* (Orient Ancien), I, pp. 457-464. This fits well with the provenance of the Stela in question. — <sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *Wb.* V, 533.

TRANSCRIPTION (see Pl. II).



a.....b. actually, not visible, but *ni* is very probable from the suffix *... of *ni*...*

TRANSLATION.

“..... [Whoever will trespass upon these fe-(1)]lds°, he shall violate an ass°, an ass shall violate his wife° (and) his wife shall violate his boy. He shall become as one mutilated by the king°. (2) His head shall be cut off (and) his tomb will be looked for (i. e. impossible to find). His life-time shall be made (as)° if it had not existed. He shall be buried in the devouring flames°. His son will not be established° on his place (and) will be hated (3) in the house of Amün, the house of Re° (and) Ptah (and) the house of the Ruler. As for anyone who will fix the fields (and) will not shorten (4) their measuring-cords°, he shall become a favourite of° the god of his city (and) his son will be established on his seat as heaven is established (and) as the earth is (also) established. (5) Nothing evil shall happen to him forever and ever, ... (for ?) it is an abomination for every god and every goddess to remove (the) stela° of a field [from the latter ???].”

c) Sometimes the word *hbs* for “wife” is used in the parallel texts, cf. Cairo Stela, *Rec. tr.*, 25, 196/97.

d) The order for the punishment of mutilation seems to be the exclusive right of the king (or of the god in the parallel texts, e. g. *Rec. tr.*, 25, 195, line 13), and our passage may refer to the cutting off of the hand, for which cf. ČERNÝ, *JEA*, 15, 247, note 8.

Also, the construction of this sentence calls for attention. It contains an adverbial predicate, namely *m* + participle (so too below, line 4). The variants, however, give the construction *iw.f m š'd* which has been misunderstood: the *m* being taken to be datival attached to a noun following it. In the writer's opinion, the *m* in these examples stands for the *m* of equivalence (pronounced 'n at this period) and the word that follows is not a noun but a passive participle. There is a solitary variant of the XXVIth Dynasty which reads: *iw.f r š'd n nsw* and is, of course, to be rendered: “he shall be mutilated by the king” (the *r* expressing futurity, cf. GARDINER, *Eg. Gr.*, § 163, 4). However, there is from the XXIIInd Dynasty an almost identical construction to our example in *Rec. tr.*, 15. 84/85, the only difference is that it contains *m hr* instead of *m*. It reads: *hpr.w hr š'd n Ht-hrt* “he shall be under mutilation by Hathor”.

However, there is also another possible rendering suggested to me by Mr. Fairman, who prefers to consider *š'd* as a noun meaning “wrath”, or “slaughter” since the sentence implies that the violator is already under the anger of the king. The *m* would thus be the preposition “in” and not that of equivalence. Mr. Fairman draws my attention to the fact that, although the hieroglyphic word for “slaughter” is *š't*, yet it is often written *š'd* in later period (cf. *Wb.*, IV, 416).

e) It is presumed that *m* is dropped before *tm*.

f) *Wnmyt* has a religious significance, since it occurs identified with Sakhmet and *Wadjet* who devour the enemy of *Rē* (Cf. Bremner-Rhind papyrus, 31, 24 — see above, p. 76, note 4). Such punishment for the violator of the endowment can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom (cf. above page 76, note 4). See also KEES, *Die Grundlagen des Totenglaubens*, p. 45 and ERMAN, *Hymnen an das Diadem*, p. 32.

g) The form *bn sdm.f* of a transitive verb invariably refers in Late Egyptian to the future. ČERNÝ points out to me that biliteral verbs showed in this form a prothetic *i* exactly as *mn* “remain” of our text, cf. ČERNÝ, *JEA*, 23, 188, note 7; GARDINER, *JEA*, 21, 141.

h) This is a reference to the cords which are used in remeasuring the fields after the inundation. Such measurements were taken every inundation. This also refers to the *smn* “fixing” of the fields and in so doing the meaning “shorten” for *hb* would be most suitable.

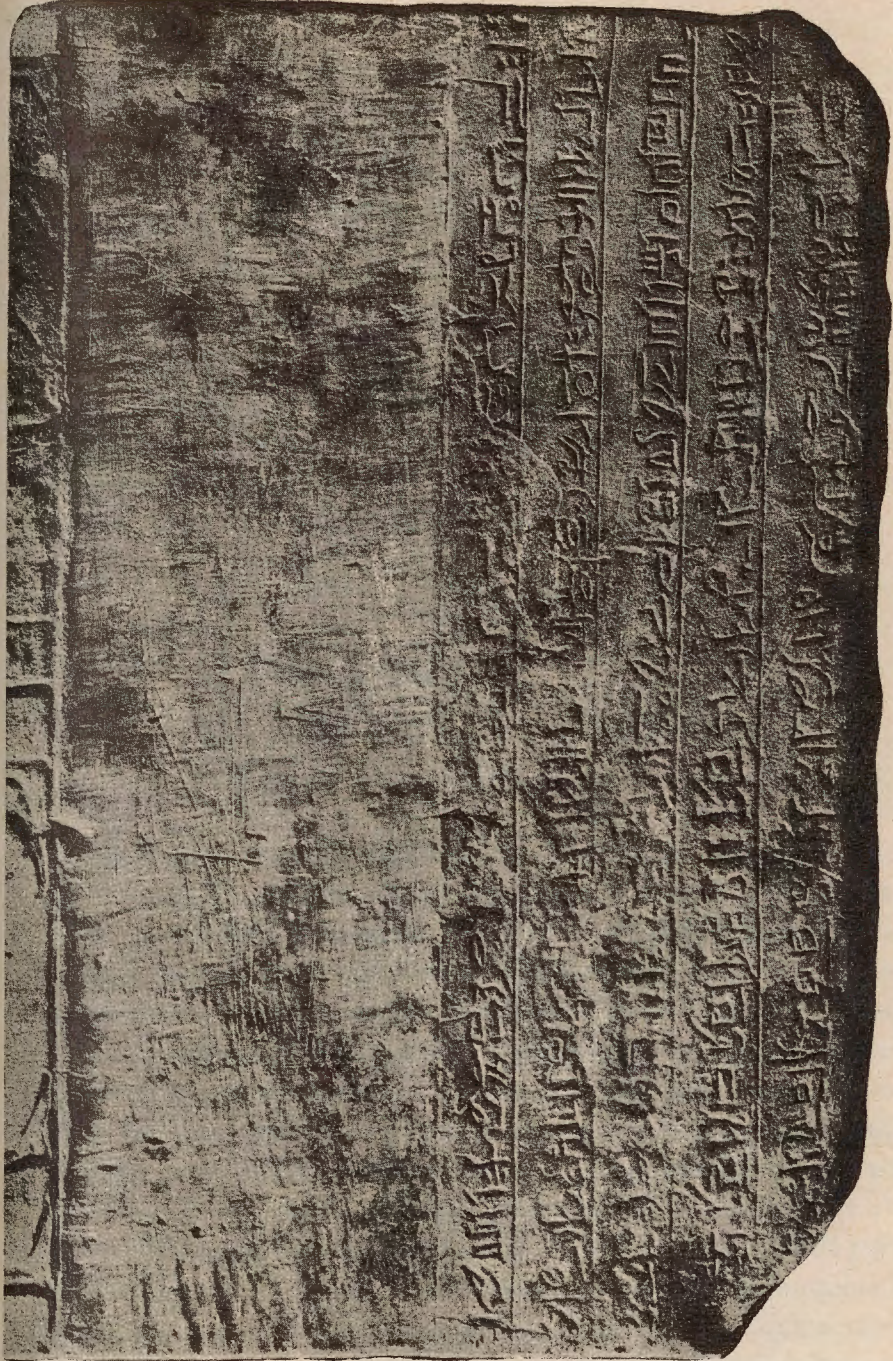
i) Oxford Stela, line 11/12 (*Rec. tr.*, 25, 195) has a variant which reads *iw.f hr hst n 'Imn-Rē* “he shall be under the favour of Amenrē”. Sim. Stela of Aspalut in Louvre, line 16 (*ZĀS*, 33, pl. 5); SOTTAS, *op. cit.*, 156, line 2.

j) *Mmn(m) wd* occurs in Louvre Stela C. 108 (MÖLLER, *l. c.*, p. 943).

ABD EL-MOHSSEN BAKIR.




Cairo Stela No. 85647.



Hieratic Text, Cairo Stela No. 85647.

## UNE AMULETTE ÉGYPTIENNE

### AU NOM DE PUTIPHAR.

L'amulette en forme de  *wd:t* qui fait l'objet de cet article appartient à la collection de M. Georges Michailides du Caire qui l'a aimablement mise à ma disposition pour être publiée. Sa provenance est inconnue et ses dimensions sont : hauteur 34 mms., largeur 40 mms. et épaisseur 7 mms. La matière est une pâte vitreuse, légère et spongieuse imitant le schiste verdâtre. L'œil d'Horus est gravé des deux côtés et

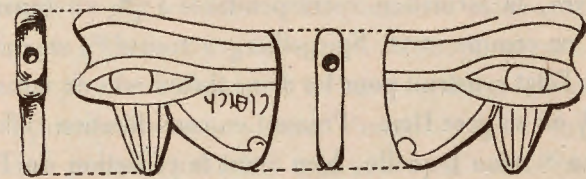





Fig. 25.

l'amulette est perforée de part en part à l'endroit indiqué par un trou sur la figure 25. Un des deux côtés porte le nom de *Putiphar*  gravé en caractères sémitiques. Afin de pouvoir établir la date de cet objet, il incombe avant tout d'étudier l'inscription au point de vue paléographique. A première vue, on peut immédiatement faire une constatation : le *waw* est privé de la boucle supérieure comme dans le phénicien ancien et le *resh* est ouvert, ce qui constitue déjà une preuve évidente de la date assez tardive de l'objet. A son stade archaïque le *resh* était constitué par une haste verticale terminée par un triangle en sa partie supérieure à gauche. Ce n'est que graduellement que ce triangle s'est ouvert, formant ainsi un stade intermédiaire entre celui qui dérive du prototype hiéroglyphique imaginaire qui devait représenter une tête humaine, et son stade final et définitif qu'il occupe dans l'alphabet vulgairement désigné par le terme de « biblique carré ». De même le *waw* était formé,

à son origine, par une haste, qui n'était pas toujours rectiligne, surmontée d'un petit cercle ouvert en sa partie supérieure. Le *thet* qui était autrefois composé d'une croix inscrite dans un petit cercle, adopte ici une forme ovale comme on le voit déjà dans l'inscription du sarcophage d'Eschmoun'azer<sup>(1)</sup>, roi de Sidon (fin de l'époque perse). Lidzbarski, en parlant de la branche phénicienne de l'écriture sémitique du nord<sup>(2)</sup>, dit que le cercle du *th* a été agrandi pour qu'il ne puisse pas être confondu avec la croix inscrite. Notre amulette appartient donc à une époque où le *resh* devait commencer à s'ouvrir à sa partie supérieure et où il était écrit en deux coups. Ceci devait se passer au début de l'écriture araméenne qui se place au début de la XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie ou la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant l'ère chrétienne.

La langue de cette courte inscription est vraisemblablement aussi araméenne, puisque Lidzbarski a identifié dans le *Wortschatz* de son admirable livre, la formation correspondante à  en cananéen (phénicien) avec פדי comme פדיהו. Spiegelberg a trouvé<sup>(3)</sup>, en outre, la formation פט à l'état construit pour les noms théophores en araméen formés avec  P-dj ou en grec Περε-. Prenant en considération l'affirmation du prof. B. Gunn<sup>(4)</sup> selon laquelle, bien avant la rédaction du Pentateuque c'est-à-dire vers la fin de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, l'article p n'était pas toujours inséparablement associé au nom divin dans la formation des noms théophores, il convient de mentionner que אֶלְעָזָר El'azar, le fils d'Aaron, avait une femme qui était la fille de פּוּטִיָּאל Putiel<sup>(5)</sup>. Ce nom a son correspondant sur un sceau de style phénico-palestinien פּדאל<sup>(6)</sup> et révèle une formation égyptienne hybride que M. Müller traduit par Θεόδωρος qui est semblable à פדיהו et Pet-baal. En égyptien on rencontre de même le nom

<sup>(1)</sup> L'Abbé J. J. L. BARGÈS, *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Eschmounazar*, pl.







<sup>(2)</sup> M. LIDZBARSKI, *Handbuch der Nordsemäischen Epigraphik*, Weimar 1898, p. 179.


<sup>(3)</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Ägyptisches Sprachgut in den aus Ägypten stammenden aramäischen Urkunden der Perserzeit*.

<sup>(4)</sup> B. GUNN, *On the supposed mention of the Egyptian God Rē in Exodus*, in *Egyptian Religion*, I, n° 1, p. 33.

<sup>(5)</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Z.D.M.G.*, LIII, p. 634; M. MÜLLER, *O.L.Z.*, III, col. 327.

<sup>(6)</sup> A. REIFENBERG, *Ancient Jewish stamps and seals*, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1939, p. 197.

propre   <sup>(1)</sup> dès la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. La même forme apparaît beaucoup plus tard à partir de la XXII<sup>e</sup> dynastie sur une stèle égyptienne avec l'article devant le nom du dieu :   <sup>(2)</sup>. Si l'on considère que ce nom est la traduction de פּוּטִי פָרַע et si, d'autre part, on ne veut pas admettre la chute du *y* final, serait-il permis de liquider la controverse au sujet de l'identité possible entre פּוּטִי פָרַע et פּוּטִיפָר qui sont tous les deux mentionnés dans la Genèse<sup>(3)</sup>? Ed König appelle le second, une *Kurzform* du premier<sup>(4)</sup>.

Il semble pourtant qu'il y ait des possibilités que les deux noms n'aient pas eu le même nom propre qui corresponde en égyptien. On comprend que פּוּטִי פָרַע soit un nom théophore composé avec le nom du dieu  puisqu'il était, selon la Genèse, un פֶּהֶן אֵן «prêtre d'Héliopolis». On ne peut pas affirmer la même chose pour פּוּטִיפָר le שֶׁר הַמְּבַחִים. Il se peut que le *y* doive sa chute à cause des règles de la métrique biblique, récemment exposées par le Dr P. Kraus (dans une communication faite à l'Institut d'Égypte). Mais connaissait-on cette métrique avant la destruction du premier temple de Jérusalem? Et en supposant qu'on ne la connaissait plus, pourquoi aurait-on gravé Putiphar au lieu de Putiphera? Une seule raison pourrait peut-être expliquer cette confusion : le nom de Putiphera n'existait dans la mémoire du lapicide que comme un vague souvenir se rapportant au récit de Joseph.

La présence du nom de *Putiphar* sur une amulette égyptienne aux environs du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle avant l'ère chrétienne, surtout en caractères sémitiques semble, en effet, assez extraordinaire, mais on pourrait cependant essayer de la justifier. La composition du récit de Joseph dans la Genèse est, en général, d'une nature étrange et surtout hétérogène; on ne peut pas l'attribuer à un seul narrateur et Gunkel a montré<sup>(5)</sup> comment ce récit a été constitué par des thèmes superposés l'un à l'autre, ce qui a amené à

<sup>(1)</sup> H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, p. 124; *Mémoire de la Mission Archéologique du Caire*, t. VIII, p. 289, n° 171 (sur un cône funéraire).

<sup>(2)</sup> A. HAMADA, *Stela of Putiphar*, in *Annales du Service*, XXXIX, p. 273, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>(3)</sup> Genèse, XLI, 45, 50; XLVI, 20; XXXVII, 36; XXXIX, 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> Ed. KÖNIG, *Hebr. u. Aram. Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, p. 359.

<sup>(5)</sup> Hermann GUNKEL, *Die Komposition der Joseph-Geschichten*, *Z.D.M.G.*, LXXVI, 1922, p. 55.



des intercalations comme celle de Judas et Tamar qui n'a aucun rapport avec le récit principal. L'étude de ces thèmes permettrait d'arriver à des conclusions très intéressantes si on la menait en la comparant avec le folklore égyptien. Nous en avons une preuve dans un conte qui s'est même infiltré dans la littérature française au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle sous le nom d'*Asseneth* <sup>(1)</sup> où les noms de Pharaon, Joseph, Asnath et Putiphar sont mêlés à des épisodes appartenant à d'autres contes parmi lesquels on reconnaît même une allusion au conte du *Prince Prédestiné*.

«Le conte d'*Asseneth*, dit Louandre, rappelle à la fois la *Bible* et les *Mille et une Nuits* <sup>(2)</sup>. Il est d'origine orientale et la rédaction première en est attribuée à des juifs convertis des premiers siècles chrétiens, auxquels on doit un grand nombre de légendes.» Ce conte fut mis en latin au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et il fut traduit en français au XIV<sup>e</sup>. Le récit de Joseph devait, très probablement, faire partie d'un cycle de légendes qui se sont transmises par la tradition depuis très longtemps et on s'explique alors qu'un sémite, peut-être un juif, vivant en Égypte avant la domination perse, ait voulu faire allusion à Putiphar sur une amulette égyptienne, car il portait probablement ce nom.

J. LEIBOVITCH.

<sup>(1)</sup> Ch. LOUANDRE, *Chefs-d'œuvre des Contes Français avant La Fontaine* (1050-1650), Paris, Bibliothèque-Charpentier, p. 102.

<sup>(2)</sup> Saint-Marc GIRARDIN, *Essais de lit-*

*térature morale*, Paris, Charpentier 1853, t. II, p. 110; Gust. BRUNET, *Les Évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, Franck 1849, p. 536. (Réf. citées d'après LOUANDRE).

## QUELQUES OBJETS INÉDITS D'ÉPOQUE PERSE.

Les divers objets d'époque perse qui sont publiés ici pour la première fois <sup>(1)</sup>, ont tous été trouvés en Égypte <sup>(2)</sup>. C'est dans cette provenance certaine que réside en partie l'intérêt de ces pièces. En effet, il est significatif de constater combien la première et la seconde domination perses qui s'étendent de 525 à 332 avant J.-C. ont laissé relativement peu de vestiges dans la Vallée du Nil : les Achéménides ont occupé militairement le pays et ne l'ont jamais conquis, ils y ont campé (suivant l'expression employée au sujet des Osmanlis), mais ne s'y sont point établis. Ainsi, en ajoutant les uns aux autres les moindres vestiges du passage des Perses en Égypte que le hasard nous fait rencontrer, nous pourrions, peut-être, à la longue, nous en former une idée plus nuancée.

### I. — FERRURES EN BRONZE AYANT SERVI DE GONDS ET DONT L'UNE PORTE LE NOM DE DARIUS.

D'après les renseignements qu'il a été possible d'obtenir, les trois gonds en bronze reproduits sur la planche III et fig. 26 proviendraient de l'oasis de Khargéh. Deux de ces pièces, qui ont environ 11 cm. de longueur et 9 cms. de largeur jusqu'à l'extrémité du pivot qui est cylindrique et creux, ne portent aucune inscription. On voit encore sur ces gonds anépigraphes les rivets qui servaient à les fixer sur la porte. Il en est de même du troisième gond mesurant 10 cm. 5 de long et 9 cm. de large

<sup>(1)</sup> Je voudrais exprimer ici mes vifs remerciements à mon ami, M. B. Grdseloff, pour l'aide constante qu'il m'a offerte durant l'élaboration de mon travail.

<sup>(2)</sup> L'ensemble de ces pièces fait partie de ma collection, constituée par mon père et mon grand-père depuis 1880.

jusqu'à l'extrémité du pivot qui se termine en pointe massive. A la différence des deux autres, il porte sur l'une des deux faces plates une inscription en caractères cunéiformes perses gravée en quatre lignes (voir Pl. III) qui se lit : *Dārāya-vahuš, Xšāyāθiya* <sup>(1)</sup> *vazraka, Xšāyāθiya Xšāyāθiyānām* <sup>(1)</sup> «Darius, le Grand Roi, Roi des Rois». Cette titulature ne nous donne aucune indication pour l'attribution de notre pièce à l'un des trois Darius qui ont laissé des vestiges en Égypte. Il s'agit en effet de titres courants de ces monarques perses, titres qui étaient rendus en égyptien respectivement par :

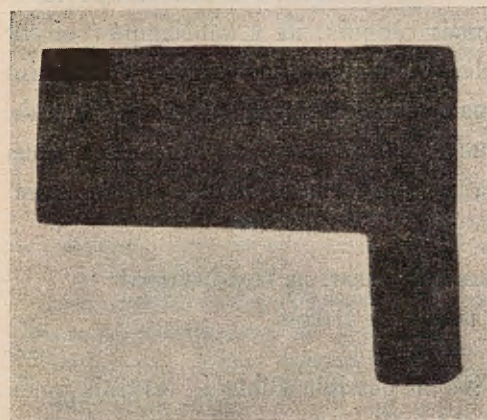
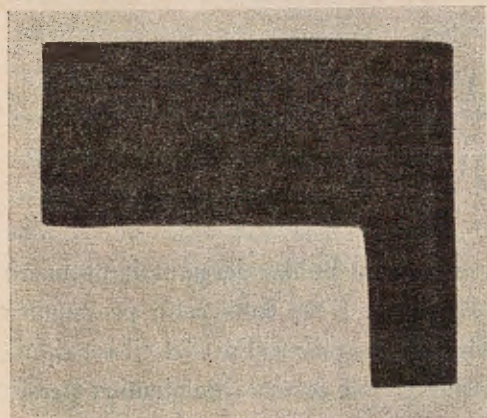


Fig. 26. — Deux gonds anépigraphes de Khargéh.

«Pharaon, le Grand» et par : «le Prince des Princes» <sup>(2)</sup>. Mais la fréquence des monuments de Darius I<sup>er</sup> comparée à l'extrême rareté de ceux de Darius II et III ainsi que le lieu où ces gonds auraient été trouvés, seraient plutôt des arguments en faveur de l'attribution à Darius I<sup>er</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> A remarquer que sur notre gond le roi au nominatif comme au génitif pluriel est simplement désigné par l'idéogramme ainsi que sur le vase de Xerxès au cabinet des Médailles et n'est pas nommé in extenso ainsi que, par exemple,

dans le texte des portes de Persépolis. <sup>(2)</sup> G. POSENER, *Première Domination perse en Égypte*, 49-65; 75; 78-80; 92-97; — 32, 3; p. 59 note (e); — 8 III, 4; 9 III, 4; p. 59 note (e) et 76 note (b).

D'après la disposition des signes cunéiformes, notre gond inscrit devait être placé au bas de la porte, les deux autres qui sont anépigraphes, en supposant qu'ils aient appartenu à la même porte, seraient par conséquent placés à la partie supérieure. Pour se faire une idée plus précise de la disposition de ces ferrures, nous renvoyons à Otto KÖNIGSBERGER, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, p. 17, fig. 17.

Le gond manquant pour la série d'une porte à double vantail portait-il une inscription analogue en égyptien, les inscriptions polylingues étant d'usage à cette époque? Dans ce cas nous pourrions nous imaginer la façon dont serait conçue l'inscription égyptienne d'après une ferrure en équerre également en bronze qui était exposée jadis dans la Salle historique du Louvre <sup>(1)</sup>. On n'en a jamais publié une copie, mais d'après la traduction fournie par Pierret, il est facile de restituer l'énoncé hiéroglyphique. Sa traduction : «Le Dieu bon, maître des deux pays, roi de la Haute et de la Basse Égypte, Antarausch, aimé d'Osiris et doué de la vie, de la perpétuité et de la pureté absolue, comme le soleil, éternellement», suggère en



Fig. 27. — Alabastron au nom de Darius.

hiéroglyphes : \*

Cette ferrure en équerre du Louvre est une de ces pièces en bronze qui entouraient d'habitude les coins du vantail en bois opposés à ceux recouverts par les gonds.

## II. — ALABASTRON AU NOM DE DARIUS.

Le vase en aragonite de 14 cm. de hauteur, qui est représenté à la figure 27, appartient au modèle communément appelé « alabastron » dans le monde méditerranéen. Il semble avoir été trouvé à Coptos, plus précisément dans la région de Kouft, d'après le témoignage de deux

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160 : Ferrure en équerre, bronze, Louvre E. 5355, PIERRET, *Catalogue de la Salle historique*, 164, n° 665.

indigènes qui l'avaient vu acheter par le marchand dans la boutique duquel je me le suis procuré et de qui je n'avais pu obtenir aucun renseignement.

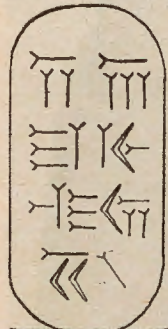



Fig. 28. — Cartouche au nom de Darius d'après l'alabastron.

Notre alabastron appartient à la catégorie des vases à fond plat : son corps va en s'élargissant légèrement vers la base, de sorte qu'il tient en équilibre dès qu'on le pose, sans nécessiter un support. De chaque côté, presque au tiers supérieur de la longueur totale du vase, se distinguent deux petites saillies formant oreilles. A peu près à leur hauteur, un peu au-dessous du col, on lit dans un cartouche surmonté de l'emblème divin , le nom de Darius en caractères cunéiformes perses (voir fig. 28) très finement gravés. Une légère usure de la matière au-dessous du cartouche a fait disparaître les signes qui auraient pu s'y trouver.

On ne connaissait à ce jour aucun exemple de vase d'époque perse portant un cartouche royal rédigé en caractères cunéiformes disposés en lignes horizontales et placées les unes au-dessus des autres. L'unique parallèle se rencontre

dans la version perse de la stèle de Darius I<sup>er</sup> qui était érigée au bord du canal de la mer Rouge près de Chalouf<sup>(1)</sup>, où un cartouche analogue au nôtre surmonte le texte perse. C'est pour faciliter la comparaison de ce cartouche, en partie mutilé, avec celui de notre alabastron que nous avons donné un dessin à la fig. 29. On constatera immédiatement que dans les dernières lignes du nom, le groupement des signes cunéiformes diffère sur la stèle.

Il est difficile de déterminer auquel des Darius notre alabastron pourrait être attribué. Cependant, le galbe du vase encore élégant en opposition avec les formes un peu postérieures,

<sup>(1)</sup> J. MÉNANT, *La Stèle de Chalouf, Rec. de Trav.*, vol. IX, p. 145.

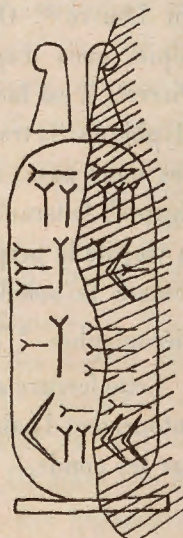


Fig. 29. — Cartouche reconstitué de la stèle de Chalouf d'après J. Ménant.

plus pansues et plus lourdes, la sobriété de l'inscription — l'espace couvert par l'usure au-dessous du cartouche n'ayant pu contenir que très peu de signes, tout au plus une date, formule coutumière sous Darius I<sup>er</sup>, contrairement à l'usage plus tardif d'y ajouter les qualificatifs de « grand roi » et de « roi des rois » — enfin l'analogie de ce cartouche avec celui qui surmonte la version perse de la stèle de Darius I<sup>er</sup> provenant de Chalouf nous autorisent, peut-être, à opter pour Darius I<sup>er</sup>.

### III. — PORTANT EN BRONZE AU NOM DE XERXÈS.

Notre pièce<sup>(1)</sup> (voir pl. IV), qui appartient à la catégorie des ferrures appliquées aux meubles portatifs, a la forme d'un cube dont les dimensions approximatives sont 5 cm. 5 sur 5 cm. avec 4 cm. 6 de profondeur et sur l'un des côtés duquel étaient fixés quatre tenons de 2 cm. 5 de longueur percés d'un trou que traverse une mince tige de bronze, les reliant deux à deux. L'un des tenons est manquant. Une étude détaillée de ces petits appareils a paru récemment<sup>(2)</sup> dont il ressort qu'on les utilisait, fixés deux à deux, de chaque côté d'un meuble que l'on désirait déplacer : on y faisait passer les barres de bois au moyen desquelles on soulevait et transportait ces meubles, tels que des guéridons, de petits naos, des brancards, des barques sacrées et autre mobilier du culte dans les temples. L'usage de ces portants était très répandu et se retrouve, par exemple, dans la description de l'Arche de la Sainte Alliance où ces appliques portent le nom de *אֲנָקִים*, « anneaux » (Ex. 25 12, 14; 37 3, 5; cf. Ex. 28 23, 26-28; 38 16, 19-21; 25 26; 37 13; 36 24, 29; 36 29, 34; 27 47; 38 5, 7; 30 4; 37 27)<sup>(3)</sup>. Plus rarement ces appareils servaient à soutenir des mâts verticaux, à usage divers, pour porter un baldaquin par exemple.

Sur le côté du cube opposé à celui où se trouvent les tenons se lit une inscription cunéiforme perse de cinq lignes (voir Pl. IV). Ce texte donne en transcription *Xšayāršā Xšāyathiya*<sup>(4)</sup> *vazraka* : « Xerxès, roi grand ». La disposition des caractères indique que notre applique, ainsi que les trois

<sup>(1)</sup> Sa provenance est prétendument Faqous, mais on serait en droit de se méfier de ce renseignement.

<sup>(2)</sup> Otto KÖNIGSBERGER, *Beschläge für*

*Tragstangen, Annales du Service*, t. XL.

<sup>(3)</sup> Nous devons ce rapprochement intéressant à l'amabilité du prof. Paul Kraus.

<sup>(4)</sup> Même remarque que pour le gond.

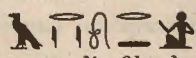
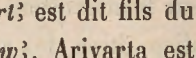
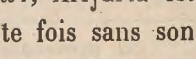
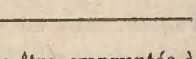
autres complémentaires, devaient être fixées de sorte que l'on pût y glisser les barres de bois horizontalement.


Les appliques qui comportent une inscription étant peu nombreuses par rapport au grand nombre des autres, anépigraphes, devaient être affectées à des objets plus précieux. Celle que nous étudions ici aurait donc servi à porter un naos ou quelque autre partie du mobilier sacré offert par Xerxès à un temple égyptien.


IV. — COUVERCLE DE VASE AU NOM D'ARIYARTA.

Le couvercle de vase à parfum de la planche V, qui présente la forme d'un disque de 7 cm. 5 de diamètre, est en albâtre, matière peu employée à cette époque, l'aragonite y étant de beaucoup préférée. L'objet fut trouvé à Edfou suivant les renseignements que j'ai pu obtenir. La face inférieure du disque ressemble à celle de la plupart des couvercles de ce genre, avec au centre une saillie circulaire qui s'insérait dans l'ouverture d'un vase.

La face supérieure, légèrement convexe, porte une inscription gravée circulaire en caractères cunéiformes perses (voir Pl. V) donnant le nom du propriétaire : *Ariyarta Artamaiya poutra*, « Ariyarta, fils d'Artama. » Les deux noms propres sont assez fréquents dans l'épigraphie perse, et nous sont connus en grec sous la forme d'APIAPΘHC et d'APTAMHC. Mais ce qui les rend intéressants dans le cas présent, c'est qu'ils figurent sur une pièce trouvée en Égypte.


Ce Perse du nom d'Ariyarta, fils d'Artama, résidait certainement dans la Vallée du Nil et semble être le même que celui qui nous laissa son nom écrit en hiéroglyphes dans une inscription rupestre du Ouadi Hammamât (n° 27 du recueil de Posener). Dans ce graffito daté de l'an 10 de Xerxès on trouve en effet la mention de deux frères  'Ariw'rti et  'Ati'whi. Plus loin 'Ariw'rti est dit fils du Perse  'Irt'msi<sup>(1)</sup> et de la dame  Knd'wsi, Ariyarta est encore mentionné sous le règne d'Artaxerxès, mais cette fois sans son

<sup>(1)</sup> La vocalisation du nom en égyptien avec finale en  semble être empruntée à la forme grecisée du nom propre perse.

frère, auquel il semble avoir succédé dans ses fonctions; il prend même le surnom de  ♦ Djéher. A ce propos Posener fait remarquer que les inscriptions vont toujours en s'égyptianisant de plus en plus (cf. n° 31, 33 et 34).

V. — ALABASTRON AU NOM DE KHABBASH.

Ce vase en aragonite d'une hauteur de 22 cm. faisait partie de la collection de mon père qui l'avait acheté dans la région de Memphis autant qu'il m'en souviennent. Le corps de l'alabastron est allongé, presque du même diamètre sur toute sa longueur avec un léger renflement vers le milieu (voir fig. 30). Il s'évase progressivement vers le haut, puis s'élargit de nouveau en un rebord circulaire largement biseauté à sa face inférieure et dont une partie est manquante. Il n'a pas de col proprement dit.

Juste au-dessous de l'évasement on voit en relief le cartouche :  « Fils du Soleil, Hbbš » (voir fig. 31). Le vase appartenait donc à l'obscur dynaste égyptien qui pour quelques années parvint à secouer le joug étranger au cours de la seconde domination perse en Égypte<sup>(1)</sup>. C'est

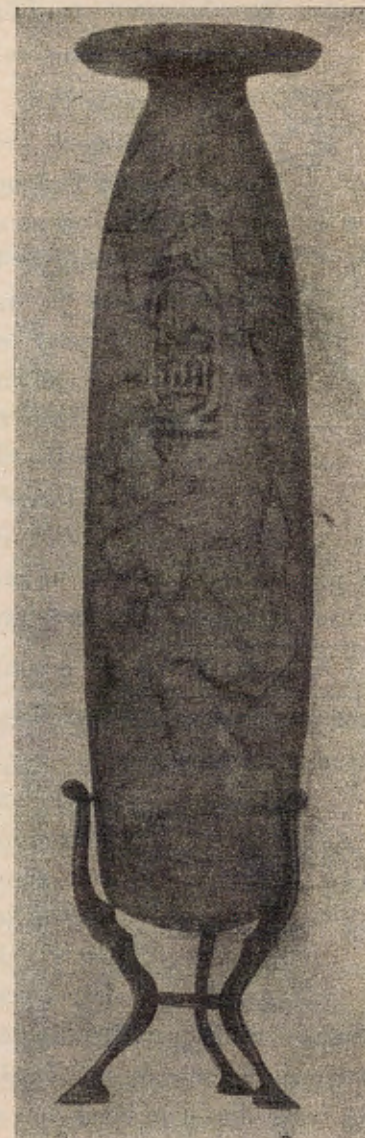


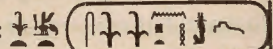
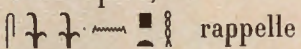
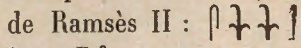
Fig. 30. — Alabastron au nom de Khabbash.

<sup>(1)</sup> Dominique MALLET, *Les Rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte (de la Conquête de Cambyse, 525, à celle d'Alexandre, 331)*, Mémoires de la Mission Française, Le Caire 1922, t. 48, p. 200 à 204.

probablement durant le règne du roi perse Arsès (339-336) que *Hbbš* résida à Memphis comme roi d'Égypte. C'est là qu'il semble avoir été intro-



Fig. 31.

nisé, car son nom de couronnement :  « Image de Ptah, élu de Tatenen » qui figure sur la Stèle du Satrape<sup>(1)</sup> (voir notre facsimilé exécuté d'après des frottis sur l'original, fig. 32) est essentiellement memphite. De plus, on serait tenté d'y voir un ancien grand prêtre de Memphis, car le nom  rappelle singulièrement un des titres du grand prêtre de Memphis *H'mw's.t*, fils de Ramsès II :  « Image aimée de Ptah »<sup>(2)</sup>. De l'an I de *Hbbš* est daté le papyrus Libbey<sup>(3)</sup> où le nom du roi en démotique peut être transcrit :

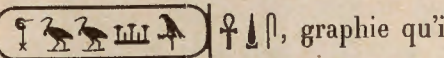
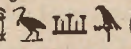
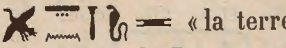
 graphie qu'il faut rapprocher de l'inscription du



Fig. 33.

même nom en démotique sur un projectile de fronde en plomb que Petrie<sup>(4)</sup> avait jadis recueilli dans le Palais d'Apriès à Memphis :  (voir fig. 33). Probablement la 2<sup>e</sup> année de son règne, le roi visita le Delta et décréta la restitution de  « la terre de *W'dj-t* », bien foncier du temple de Bouto que le roi perse Artaxerxès III Ochos avait fait précédemment confisquer. Mais sa décision ne put être exécutée, car la même année vit la chute du roi *Hbbš*. Cela ressort de la brusque interruption des funérailles d'un bœuf Apis mort à cette date et que *Hbbš* s'app préparait

<sup>(1)</sup> SETHE, *Urk.*, II, 11-22.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. *Rec. de Trav.*, I, pl. V, 1.

<sup>(3)</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Papyrus Libbey* (Strassburg 1907), Ein ägyptischer

Heiratsvertrag.

<sup>(4)</sup> FL. PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. LVII, 28, 1.

à faire déposer dans un cercueil abandonné à mi-chemin dans la galerie près de l'entrée du Sérapéum de Saqqarah<sup>(1)</sup>. C'est probablement l'énergique intervention de Darius III Codoman qui en 336 mit fin à l'indépendance passagère de l'Égypte en en chassant le dernier pharaon indigène.

VI. — TAUREAU VOTIF APPARTENANT À MITHROBAÏOS.

Le taureau en calcaire de la Pl. VI mesure 9 cm. 5 en longueur et 6 cm. 5 dans sa plus grande hauteur. Il est représenté accroupi, les pattes repliées sous le corps, la tête levée dans l'attitude d'un animal au repos, la queue passée entre les deux pattes de derrière. Sur le flanc gauche se lit une inscription allant obliquement de bas en haut en caractères assyro-babyloniens (voir Pl. VI) que l'on peut transcrire : *Mi-t-ri ab-ou-a*, « Mithra est mon père », nom perse bien connu qui est rendu en grec par « Mithrobaïos ». Un célèbre chevalier perse de ce nom se trouvait dans l'armée d'Alexandre le Grand et fut promu par le conquérant macédonien au rang le plus élevé de la cavalerie en 324 (Arrian., VII, 6, 5), après avoir accompli de hauts faits d'armes. Notre pièce très usée, provenant de Défennéh, semble avoir été un objet votif en l'honneur du culte de Mithra, abandonné en Égypte par ce chevalier perse lors de l'occupation de ce pays par Alexandre. Il est fort probable que cette pièce était destinée au Mithréum de Memphis qui florissait encore à l'époque de la domination romaine dans les environs de Mitrahina<sup>(2)</sup>.

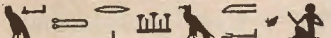
On sait, en effet, que le dieu Mithra a une origine très lointaine dans l'Iran ancien et ne devint prédominant chez les Achéménides que vers 400 av. J.-C. Cela n'empêche que des noms théophores perses formés avec l'élément Mithra ne se rencontrent déjà antérieurement à l'apogée de ce dieu : nous connaissons un Mithradatès sous le règne de Cyrus et Mithrobatès, un satrape sous Cambyse. Jadis, Spiegelberg<sup>(3)</sup> avait identifié

<sup>(1)</sup> Battiscombe GUNN, *The inscribed Sarcophagi in the Serapeum*, *Annales du Service*, t. XXVI, p. 86-87.

<sup>(2)</sup> WIEDEMANN, apud *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, t. XXXI, 1924, p. 310. Cf. OTTO, *Priester und*

*Tempel*, I, 171 et STRZYGOWSKI, *Koptische Kunst* (Caire, *Cat. gén.*), 9.

<sup>(3)</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Zu den semitischen Eigennamen in ägyptischer Umschrift aus der Zeit des «neuen Reiches»*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XIII, 52.

sur un éclat de vase canope de la collection de Tigrane Pacha le nom :  d'un étranger qui vécut sous la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie en Égypte. Max Burchardt<sup>(1)</sup> réussit ensuite à interpréter ce nom, en le transcrivant : *Mitra-šemī*, « Mithra a écouté (ma prière) ». Dans le Papyrus Araméen de Turin qui date de l'époque perse, se rencontre encore un nom propre théophore que Clermont-Ganneau a lu מִתְרַוּחִיחַ Mithrawahichta (en grec *Μιθραύσις* et var.)<sup>(2)</sup>. D'autre part, le nom du dieu Mithra est déjà invoqué comme témoin céleste du traité conclu entre un roi hittite et un prince de Mitanni vers l'an 1400 avant notre ère<sup>(3)</sup>. Ce qui confère à notre pièce le caractère votif c'est sa forme de taureau. On connaît le rôle de cet animal dans le mythe de Mithra d'après les études approfondies de Fr. Cumont<sup>(4)</sup> sur les mystères de ce dieu. Domptant, après maintes péripéties, le taureau sauvage, Mithra se saisit des forces de la Nature, et en l'immolant, produit de son sang toutes les créatures de la terre. Ce rôle cosmogonique du dieu iranien s'apparente au culte du Ptah memphite, de sorte qu'on puisse fort bien imaginer la création dans le Mithréum à Memphis d'un culte congénère de Ptah fondé par les Achéménides à Mitrahina, lors de leur conquête de l'Égypte. Il est même permis de supposer que le voisinage des deux cultes, si opposés dans leurs rites, n'aurait pas été sans causer, au début, de l'étonnement et même de l'indignation parmi les égyptiens. En effet, tandis que dans la religion locale on adore un taureau et qu'on se lamente au sujet de sa mort, l'envahisseur, lui, à deux pas de là, égorge le sien rituellement. Ne pourrait-on pas attribuer à la persistance de cette première impression la source des rumeurs sur les violences de Cambyse, à l'égard du bœuf Apis; rumeurs qui rapportées par Hérodote et les historiens grecs postérieurs<sup>(5)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ä. Z.*, *VI*, 1912, p. 122.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Origine perse des monuments araméens d'Égypte*, *Revue archéologique*, Août 1878, p. 96; voir aussi Ph. BERGER, *Cylindre perse avec légende araméenne* (*Gazette archéol.*, 1888, p. 143-144).

<sup>(3)</sup> H. WINCKLER, apud *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, XXXV, 1-59;

cf. Ed. MEYER, *Kuhns Zeitschr.*, XLII, 24 et suiv.

<sup>(4)</sup> FR. CUMONT, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles, t. I et II.

<sup>(5)</sup> Hérodote (III, 27 à 29) Plutarque, de *Iside*, 44; Justin, 1, 9 Clément d'Alexandrie, *Protrepticus*, 4, 52, 6 (éd. Stählin).

donnèrent naissance à cette tradition si contraire à toutes les données fournies à ce jour par les documents historiques?

VII. — PETIT ÉCLAT D'UNE STATUE NAOPHORE D'OUJAHORRESNÉ.

Ce petit fragment en granit (voir fig. 34) qui mesure 9 cm. me fut offert récemment par M. B. Grdseloff qui le trouva par hasard dans la région memphite. Sa surface arrondie porte une bande de texte; il en est de même sur le côté latéral (voir fig. 35 a et b). Le texte de b donne

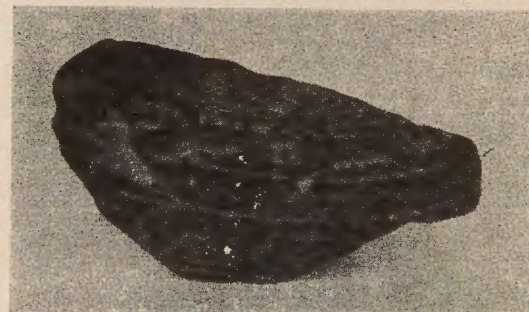

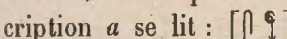

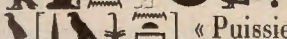


Fig. 34. — Éclat d'une statue d'Oudjahorresné.

 « Le médecin-chef Oudjahorresné », tandis que l'inscription a se lit :   
  
 « Puissiez-vous vous souvenir de toutes les actions excellentes qu'avait accomplies le médecin-chef Oudjahorresné ».

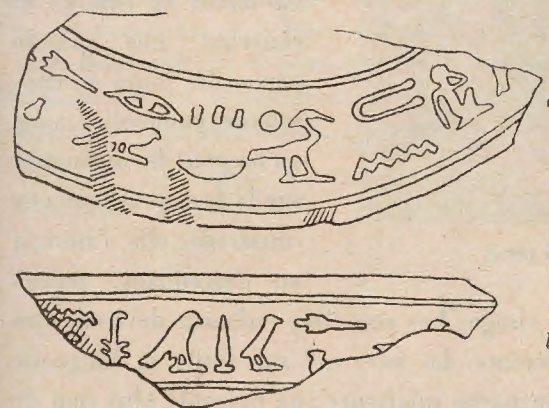
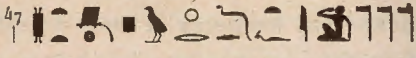
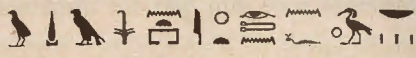



Fig. 35.

Il ne peut faire aucun doute qu'il s'agit ici du célèbre médecin de Saïs du début de la première domination perse qui collabora avec Cambyse et Darius et dont le Musée du Vatican conserve le célèbre naophore. Notre fragment appartenait fort probablement à la base d'un autre naophore aujourd'hui perdu, car le bout de texte qui figure à la bande a peut être entièrement remplacé dans son contexte d'après l'inscription en deux colonnes gravée à gauche des pieds

lentes qu'avait accomplies le médecin-chef Oudjahorresné ». Il ne peut faire aucun doute qu'il s'agit ici du célèbre médecin de Saïs du début de la première domination perse qui collabora avec Cambyse et Darius et dont le Musée du Vatican conserve le célèbre naophore. Notre fragment appartenait fort proba-

sur le socle du naophore du Vatican : 47  48  

Posener traduit ce passage : « Ce sera un honoré auprès de Neith, celui qui dira : « O grands dieux qui êtes dans Saïs, rappelez-vous toutes les actions méritoires qu'avait faites le médecin-chef Oudjhorresné », et alors puissiez-vous faire pour lui toute chose utile et établir sa bonne renommée dans cette terre à jamais. »



Fig. 36. — Tête de roi perse.

tuant de la sorte l'ovale du visage. Les yeux très enfoncés devaient être incrustés d'une matière différente. Le nez, usé sur toute sa longueur et, semble-t-il, inachevé à sa partie inférieure, ne présente plus rien de caractéristique. Les cheveux forment au-dessus du front un bourrelet qui de chaque côté va en s'épaississant vers l'arrière de la tête où il semble se diviser à hauteur de la nuque par un léger étranglement. Une coiffure basse et cylindrique couvre le tout. Cette tête d'un travail peu détaillé mais expressive dans son ensemble présente tous les caractères des person-

VIII. — TÊTE  
DE ROI PERSE.

Tête en calcaire de 6 cm. de hauteur (voir fig. 36). Le visage est allongé et terminé par une barbe commençant au-dessus de l'oreille et couvrant une grande partie des joues au-dessous des pommettes, ainsi qu'on peut le distinguer sur la face gauche mieux conservée, elle s'aminçit en descendant, accentuant

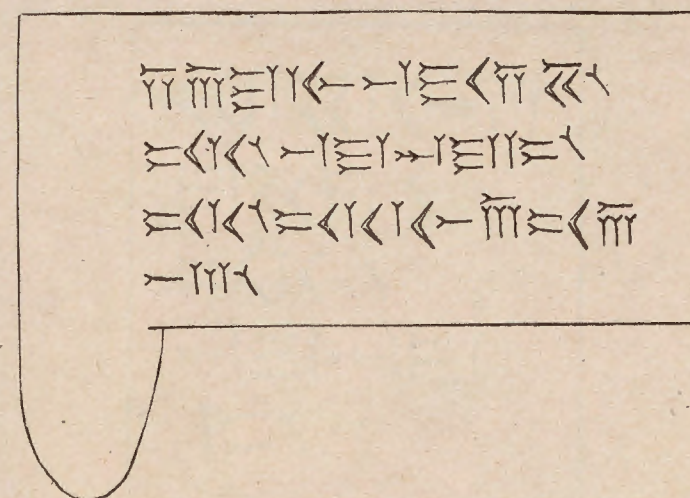
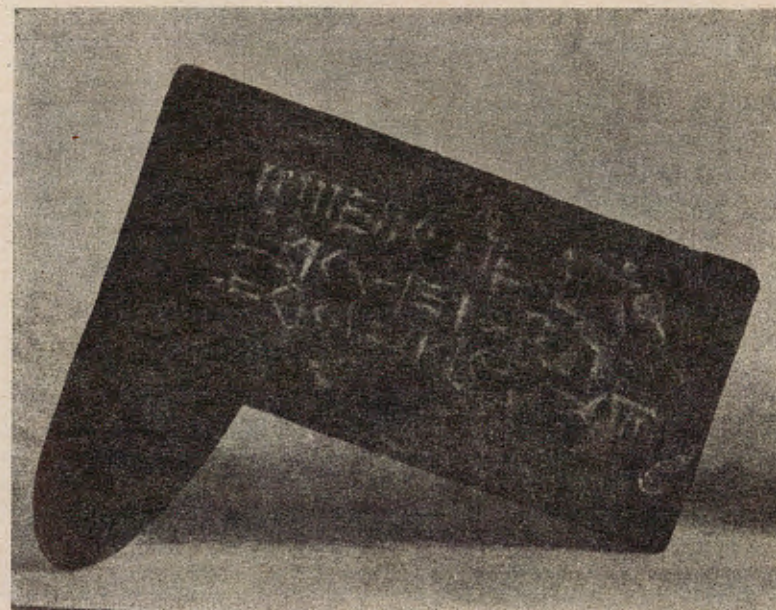
nages que l'on voit figurer sur les bas-reliefs des palais de Persépolis tantôt comme rois, tantôt comme doriphores. Une tête de roi perse en terre cuite et postérieure à l'époque qui nous intéresse fut trouvée à Memphis (voir PETRIE, *Memphis*, I, pl. XXXVI), lieu d'origine de la nôtre, mais elle en diffère par la coiffure. Du fait que notre petit portrait est en calcaire non en terre cuite, cette dernière matière étant presque exclusivement employée plus tard pour les monuments de cette dimension, qu'en outre il paraît avoir été exécuté avec un certain soin ainsi qu'en témoigne l'incrustation des yeux, nous pourrions inférer que la tête en question avait appartenu à une statuette de roi perse contemporaine de la domination des Achéménides en Égypte. Il serait curieux d'opposer à cette représentation de pur style perse<sup>(1)</sup> trouvée dans la vallée du Nil celle du bas relief de Pasargade dont Stolze nous a donné une photo dans Persépolis pl. 132, où le Grand Roi est figuré portant une coiffure égyptienne<sup>(2)</sup>.

Georges MICHAÉLIDIS.

<sup>(1)</sup> A ce propos je ne puis que mentionner ici une stèle anépigraphe, trouvée en Égypte, que je possède, mais qui se trouve actuellement à Paris et dont malheureusement je n'ai même pas une photographie; un roi perse y est représenté dans la pose traditionnelle, perçant

de son glaive un lion dressé devant lui sur ses deux pattes arrière.

<sup>(2)</sup> Je tiens à remercier mon ami M. Georges Lambert au sujet des excellentes photographies qu'il a fournies pour mon travail en dépit des difficultés de la guerre.



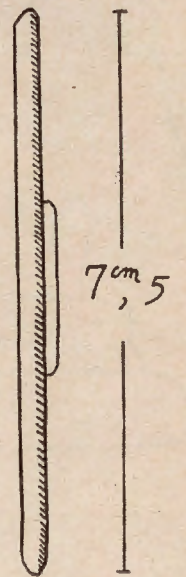
Gond en bronze portant le nom de Darius.



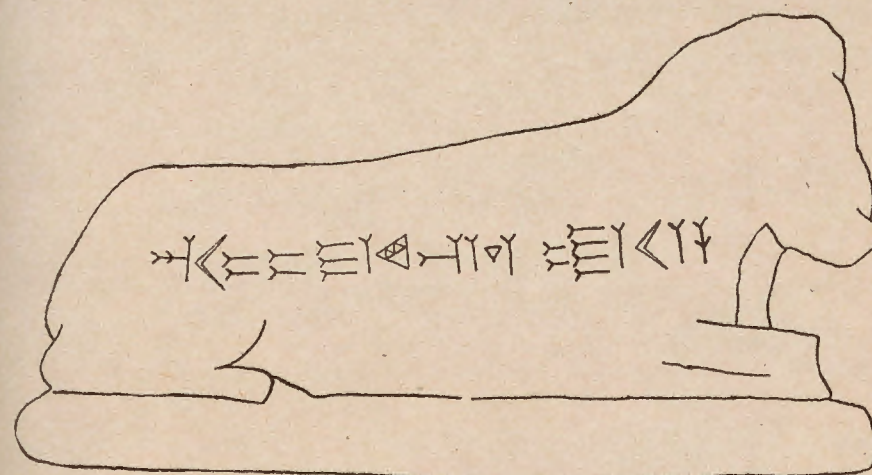


«YI ZI < YI  
 EY ZI YI Y  
 EY < Y Y  
 Y Y Y Y Y  
 Y Y Y

Portant en bronze au nom de Xerxès.



Couvercle de vase au nom d'Ariyarta.



Taureau votif au nom de Mithrobaïos.

ÉTUDES

## QUELQUES MOTS ÉNIGMATIQUES DANS UN TEXTE ASTRONOMIQUE.

Dans la publication du Cénotaphe de Seti I<sup>er</sup> à Abydos, faite par M. H. Frankfort, il est question d'une inscription astronomique<sup>(1)</sup>. L'importance de ce texte, se trouvant sur le plafond de la Chambre du Sarcophage, est considérable, tant du point de vue du contenu que de la grammaire. Il y est question du mouvement des étoiles et des phases de la lune. Bien que le texte soit déjà dans un endroit difficilement accessible, sa lecture est rendue encore plus malaisée par les formes peu communes et énigmatiques qui y pullulent. M. A. de Buck, qui a analysé le texte, a fait un bon travail de pionnier, et si sa traduction est parsemée de lacunes, cela ne doit aucunement nous étonner.

Les lacunes sont de deux genres. D'abord, se sont des endroits, laissés en blanc par l'ancien scribe, qui devait avoir devant lui un original mal conservé, « rongé par des vers » comme on avait l'habitude de le dire. Ces lacunes sont difficiles à remplir. On pourrait les combler seulement au cas où le hasard des trouvailles nous mettrait en présence d'un texte similaire.

En second lieu viennent les lacunes dues aux difficultés se dressant en maints endroits devant l'étudiant et provenant des écritures énigmatiques, que nous venons de mentionner. Notre position, en face de ces lacunes, n'est pas désespérée. Les choses se précisent, une fois que nous arrivons à découvrir la manière de penser de l'ancien scribe. C'est un travail de détective, tachant de résoudre un problème, posé par un autre esprit,

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<sup>(1)</sup> H. FRANKFORT, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, with chapters by A. de Buck and B. Gunn*, 1933.

peut-être assez malin, mais tout de même humain, et, par conséquent, soluble.








Nous n'avons pas la prétention d'avoir tiré au clair toutes les énigmes de notre texte astronomique. Nous croyons seulement avoir lu et compris quelques mots de plus que ne l'a fait notre prédécesseur. Mais, dans le cas comme le nôtre, cela constitue déjà une acquisition, qu'il est utile de communiquer aux confrères, pour leur permettre de se familiariser davantage avec les procédés de notre scribe, ce qui aboutirait, sans doute, à la longue à de nouveaux déchiffrements.


Nous commencerons par passer en revue les écritures peu communes, déjà analysées par M. de Buck. Nous avons refait son travail, du commencement jusqu'à la fin, sans consulter ses commentaires. Ce n'est que plus tard que nous avons comparé nos résultats aux siens. Cette contre-expertise nous a donné la plus grande satisfaction. Nous avons trouvé que, dans la plupart des cas, nous sommes arrivés aux mêmes conclusions que notre collègue.





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Le principe, régissant le choix des signes employés d'une manière peu commune ou énigmatique, au fond, ne diffère en rien de celui qui est à la base des signes canoniques du système hiéroglyphique. Les signes se trouvent employés avec le total de leur valeur phonétique, ou bien, cette dernière subit un certain changement, d'ordre positif ou négatif. Nous allons examiner l'un après l'autre les différents cas.

I. — *La valeur phonétique totale* du signe se retrouve, par exemple, dans les cas suivants :





a) Le signe , signifiant non pas « nez », mais « respirer », « sentir » (*sn*), est employé comme suffixe possessif de la troisième personne du pluriel, dans  *ksw-sn* « leurs os » (col. 11). A côté de ce signe choisi, nous trouvons les graphies ordinaires,  (col. 1, etc.),  (col. 2 et *passim*) et  (col. 11). Cf.  , en écriture normale, aux col. 8-9.








b) L'hiéroglyphe du pain  est souvent employé comme signe alphabétique *t*. A côté de lui figure, presque à chaque colonne, le signe






ordinaire . Comme cela arrive déjà dans les « Textes des Sarcophages », le signe  désigne aussi le nom du dieu Thot (col. 39, 41), sans toutefois éliminer les graphies ordinaires  (col. 30, 31) et  (col. 11).



II. — *La valeur phonétique partielle* du signe. Les exemples de ce genre sont assez nombreux. On y observe :



1° *L'élimination d'un son final faible* :




a)  *h'* pour *h*<sup>(1)</sup> dans le mot    *nhh* « renaître » ou *nhwy* « se lamenter » (col. 7? et 11) (v. *infra*, p. 119).


b)  *s'*, pour *s*<sup>(2)</sup> dans le mot    *sb'w* « étoiles » (col. 9, 12). Ailleurs nous trouvons les formes simples :  (col. 1),  (col. 10) et  (col. 13).



c)  *hy*, pour *h*, dans le mot   *hpr* « avoir lieu » (col. 12, 25). Ailleurs, nous trouvons couramment les formes claires  et .




d)  *nb*, pour *nb*<sup>(3)</sup> « tout » (col. 12, 24), à côté de la forme simple  (col. 24, 27).




e)  *d'*, pour *d*<sup>(4)</sup>, dans le nom  (col. 11).

f)  *m'*, pour *m*, dans la préposition composée  *m hnw* « à l'intérieur », « dans », « au » (col. 13), à côté du signe ordinaire .

g)  *mw*, pour *m* (préposition) (col. 17, deux fois, 24, 25, 27, 33, 35). Cf. le cas précédent.

h)  *p'y*, *pw*, pour *p'*, *pw* (démonstratif) (col. 18, 32), à côté du signe ordinaire .

i)  (?) *n'* « repousser », employé comme préposition du datif *n* (col. 20), à côté de  et .

j)  *m'*, pour *m*<sup>(5)</sup>, dans le mot  *mw* « mère » (col. 24), à côté de la forme ordinaire  (col. 17).

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Ét. DRIOTON, dans *Revue d'Égyptologie*, t. I, p. 45, n° 118.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42, n° 91 et dans A. PIAN-KOFF, *Livre du Jour*, etc., p. 99.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36, n° 6.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39, n° 46.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39, n° 47; voir A. GARDINER, *Grammar*, p. 446, D 37.

2° L'élimination des initiales faibles.

a) « pilier », employé comme la lettre n, dans le mot nhh ou nhwy (col. 7 ? et 11; v. supra, p. 117 et infra, p. 119). Ailleurs, nous trouvons et (voir également supra i).

b) « chair », employé comme la lettre f (suffixe) (col. 16 et 28). En même temps, nous trouvons l'emploi fréquent de (1).

Nous trouvons dans les mots énigmatiques de notre texte d'autres procédés que voici :

I. — Remplacement d'un signe par un autre signe dont l'aspect ou la fonction sont plus ou moins similaires.

A part la modification de la valeur phonétique des signes, le scribe changeait parfois leur aspect, en leur substituant d'autres signes, plus ou moins similaires. Les exemples en sont comme suit :

- a) , un quadrupède, qui est un chacal ou qui en a l'apparence et qui pourrait remplacer un griffon . hh (col. 8 et 11). Voir infra, p. 123.
- b) au lieu de (col. 13). V. supra, II, f).
- c) au lieu de (col. 15). V. infra, p. 123-124.
- d) au lieu de (col. 18).
- e) au lieu de nd (col. 18). V. infra, p. 128-129.
- f) au lieu de m (col. 24) (2).
- g) au lieu de g (col. 41).
- h) au lieu de (col. 35) (3).

(1) Cf. « air pour son nez », Pap. Ani., pl XXXV (Champs Élysées, reg. supér.), en regard de . Pap. Iouya, pl. XVIII, reg. supér.).

(2) L'emploi de au lieu de est déjà attesté pour l'époque des IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> dynasties ; voir A. GARDINER, Grammar,

p. 446, D 39, et Wört. d. äg. Spr., v. II, p. 54.

(3) Les signes et ont ceci de commun que tous les deux ne correspondent qu'à une partie du signe respectif.

II. — Emploi d'un déterminatif abusif.

Nous trouvons les signes et , déterminant une partie des mots énigmatiques suivants :

a) nhh ou nhwy (col. 7 et 11), où se trouve à cause du mot h' « bureau ». V. infra, p. 124-125.

b) h'tyw (col. 15), à cause des mots rnpt « an » et h't « salle », « tombeau ». V. infra, p. 123-125.

III. — Emploi d'un signe avec une valeur phonétique dérivée (analytique).

Nous trouvons dans notre texte astronomique deux groupes, chacun composé de deux signes, dont la valeur phonétique est due à une déduction logique ad hoc (rébus). Les voici :

a) , deux bras, censés être tendus vers quelque chose et pour cette raison lues r et employés comme la préposition « vers » (col. 9, deux fois, et 40) (1). Ailleurs, nous trouvons dans notre texte la forme ordinaire .




















b) (col. 17 deux fois, 24, 25, 27, 33, 35). Le premier signe à la valeur m et le second, représentant le nom de la ville It-taouy, est lu hnw, pour cette raison que la dite ville est une capitale (hnw), ou bien l'explication en serait que le mot 'It i-t'wy se trouve placé à l'« intérieur » (hnw) du rectangle crénelé (2). A comparer le signe désignant « ce qui se trouve à l'intérieur » et pour cette raison ayant la valeur phonétique imy, etc. On trouve m hnw, écrit d'une manière plus ou moins normale aux col. 12 et 13 : .

(1) A comparer les deux bras qui équivalent au signe et sont lus k' (Ét. DRIOTON, dans Revue d'Égyptologie, t. I, p. 39, n° 45). Il est aussi possible que les deux bras soient une forme abrégée du mot r'-wy « bras » dont le scribe ne retient que le son r.

(2) Le Wörterb. d. äg. Spr., vol. III, p. 370, ne connaît la forme m hnw qu'à l'époque grecque et ignore notre variante . M. Ét. Drioton a signalé récemment la valeur m de pour la même époque (voir La Cryptographie du Papyrus Salt 825, dans les Ann. Serv., t. XLI, p. 108 et 129).

IV. — *Inversion des signes.*






Nous le trouvons dans les mots suivants :



- a)  , au lieu de   *špt* « furieux » (col. 3).
- b) , au lieu de  *m hnw* « à l'intérieur », « dans » ou « au » (col. 13).
- c)  (var. ) , à lire  *phly* « vigueur » (col. 16 et 19).
- d)   à lire  *psg* « cracher » (col. 41).
- e)  au lieu de  (troisième élément du mot *h3tyw*, col. 15).
- f)    au lieu de   <sup>(mmmm)</sup> « l'intérieur du ciel » (col. 13)<sup>(1)</sup>.

\* \*

Les observations, que nous venons de faire et dont la majeure partie à été faite également par M. de Buck, nous permettront d'aborder la lecture de quelques mots énigmatiques restés en suspens.


Ceux-ci sont au nombre de huit. Les voici :




1°    (col. 7 et 11). La partie phonétique de ce mot comprend trois signes (le dernier signe n'est qu'un déterminatif abusif, v. *supra*, p. 119). Le signe du pilier  *wn*, d'après les principes exposés plus haut, peut être lu, avec élimination des deux premiers sons faibles, comme un simple *n*. Les deux signes  pourraient être lus, soit *h3h3*, soit, avec élimination des deux sons faibles, *hh*. Le mot aurait donc la lecture *nh3h3* ou *nhh*. Les deux significations connues du mot *nh3h3* (le soi-disant « fléau » et le verbe « abonder ») ne répondant pas au contexte, nous devons nous tenir à la lecture *nhh*. Il faut également envisager la possibilité de la lecture *nhvy*.






















Les mots à la racine *nhh* sont assez nombreux. Nous trouvons parmi eux un verbe ayant rapport à l'œil d'Horus, une étoile \*, le nom d'un décan  et le verbe « vieillir », se disant non seulement des




(1) L'inversion des signes, propre aux mots énigmatiques, vient d'être signalée par M. Ét. Drioton, dans son chapitre sur l'écriture énigmatique,

dans A. PIANKOFF, *Livre du Jour*, etc. (p. 112). Nous partageons son opinion que « cette disposition ne peut être fortuite »

hommes, mais aussi de la lune. Bien que dans notre texte il y ait question de la lune et des étoiles, aucune des significations, qui viennent d'être passées en revue, ne convient à notre passage. Vient enfin le verbe  *nhh* « renaître » qui se dit des hommes et de la lune. C'est bien là une signification qui pourrait convenir à notre cas. La sortie des « têtes » des étoiles de dessous l'horizon est comparable, à juste titre, à la renaissance des étoiles.

Le texte, dont notre mot    fait partie, est comme suit :

     	<i>sw Dhwtj wd:f</i>
    	<i>gm-sn tpw-sn</i>
    	<i>nhh tpw-sn</i>
    	<i>ksw-sn hprw m rmtw</i>

Une fois ayant admis que la signification du mot    est « renaître », la traduction du passage en question serait la suivante :

« Voici que Thot ordonna  
qu'ils trouvassent leurs têtes<sup>(1)</sup>.  
Leurs têtes *renaissent*<sup>(2)</sup>,  
(tandis que) leurs os sont devenus des hommes. »

La légende des « os » stellaires, transformés en hommes, à laquelle notre texte fait une allusion, évoque dans notre mémoire le mythe grec, d'après lequel les hommes ont été créés des « os » de la « mère » de l'homme immortel, Deukalion, que celui-ci jette derrière son dos. Dans le texte astronomique du Cénotaphe de Seti I<sup>er</sup>, les « os » en question proviennent des étoiles, tombées du ciel sur la terre, autrement dit, des *météorites*. Les pierres, rassemblées par Deukalion à la surface de la terre, étaient-elles aussi de provenance sidérale ? Le mythe ne nous donne aucun renseignement sur ce sujet, mais tel peut être le cas et cela

(1) Il est question des dieux-étoiles disparus au-dessous de l'horizon.

(2) Cela veut dire : « les étoiles montent au-dessus de l'horizon. »



d'autant plus que, comme nous l'avons dit, lors de la création des hommes des « pierres », celles-ci étaient « jetées »<sup>(1)</sup>.

Reste encore la lecture *nhwy* « se lamenter », qui pourrait elle aussi convenir à notre contexte. Dans ce cas nous aurions la traduction suivante :

« Voici que Thot ordonna  
qu'ils trouvassent leurs têtes.  
Leurs têtes se lamentent  
(étant donné que ?) leurs os sont devenus des hommes. »

La légende des étoiles se « lamentant », lors de la création des hommes de leurs « os », pourrait être mise en regard de cette autre légende, d'après laquelle les hommes ont été créés des « larmes » du dieu-soleil, Râ. Dans ce cas, il y aurait peut-être lieu de reviser l'opinion courante que la dite légende n'a pour toute raison d'être que le simple jeu de mots entre *rmîw* « hommes » et *rmî* « pleurer ». Les « larmes » du soleil peuvent exprimer le même phénomène céleste que les « os » des étoiles, c'est-à-dire des étoiles filantes ou des météorites<sup>(2)</sup>. L'on ne manquera pas, sans doute, de se souvenir, sous ce rapport, des bateliers de Râ, qui avaient, eux-aussi, fait choir leurs « têtes » dans l'eau, d'où ils devaient ensuite les repêcher<sup>(3)</sup>.






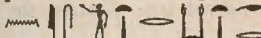






Notre passage laisse entrevoir l'existence de deux légendes, basées sur le mouvement diurne des étoiles. D'après l'une, le mouvement des étoiles, qui se levaient, était mis en rapport avec la *mort* de l'homme par excellence, c'est-à-dire, avec le roi, qui montait au ciel, du côté de l'Orient, comme un astre. Il en est souvent question dans les « Textes des Pyramides ». Par contre, le mouvement descendant des étoiles, s'approchant de l'horizon


<sup>(1)</sup> Toutefois, il ne faut pas perdre de vue qu'il existe d'autres pierres « jetées », mais provenant non pas du ciel, mais des profondeurs de la terre. La possibilité que, dans le mythe de Deukalion, il s'agit de *pierres éruptives* ne doit donc pas être exclue. Il est à noter que, du point de vue mythique, il n'y a pas une si grande différence entre les deux sortes de pierres.

















<sup>(2)</sup> Encore ici, une signification éruptive pourrait s'imposer. Les lapilli sont appelés, encore de nos jours, les « larmes de volcan ». De l'autre côté, nous avons certaines raisons de croire que le dieu-soleil Râ était le remplaçant et, en partie, l'héritier d'un ancien dieu volcanique.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Pap. Ebers*, pl. 58, l. 9-11.














occidental, et que l'on confondait avec le phénomène des étoiles filantes et des météorites, comme nous le montre notre texte, était mis en rapport avec la *naissance* des hommes.




2°  , var.   (col. 8 et 11). M. de Buck a traduit ce mot « horizon », tout en attirant l'attention du lecteur sur le fait que son déterminatif n'est pas celui qu'on a l'habitude de voir dans ce cas. Reste à expliquer d'où provient la valeur phonétique *ḥ*. De Buck se demande, sans entrer en discussion, si l'animal ne remplace pas le griffon  *ḥḥ*. Nous avons envisagé, nous-même, cette possibilité. Toutefois, il y aurait dans ce cas une certaine complication à cause du son remplaçant le *ḥ*. Il serait plus aisé d'admettre que l'animal en question, un chacal ou un griffon camouflé, figure non pas sous son vrai nom *ḥḥ*, mais qu'il soit porteur du sobriquet *ḥḥ* « celui qui court vite ». A comparer, par exemple,  *nîs·t r k·t, spr·â m ḥḥ* « une fois que tu appelles ton *ka*, il vient en hâte »<sup>(1)</sup>. De cette valeur *ḥḥ*, notre syllabe *ḥḥ* pourrait être dérivée sans difficulté. A part les graphies choisies   et  , nous trouvons dans notre texte astronomique la forme ordinaire   (col. 3 et 20).

3°  (col. 13). Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, ce groupe est à lire *m ḥnw* et il veut dire « à l'intérieur », « dans » ou « au » (ciel).




4°     (col. 15). Le principe énigmatique, se trouvant à la base de ce groupe, d'une apparence vraiment curieuse, est assez simple. Nous le trouvons employé également dans le pronom démonstratif *nn*, écrit d'une manière anormale,   (col. 41) ou   (col. 41), à côté de la forme ordinaire   (col. 1, 12), et dans le mot    « similitude », « apparence » (col. 10 et 34). Le mot, qui nous intéresse actuellement, comprend trois signes fondamentaux, que voici : ,  et . Le contexte nous porte à croire que nous avons devant nous non pas trois mots, comme sembleraient l'indiquer les déterminatifs, mais bien *un seul mot*, les trois signes fondamentaux n'étant que de différentes présentations d'un seul et même signe. Pour le prouver, il nous faut retrouver une lecture, propre à tous les trois signes en question. Notre tâche est simplifiée par

<sup>(1)</sup> H. JUNKER, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, 143, p. 111.


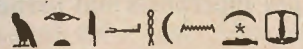
le fait que le troisième élément  n'a qu'une seule lecture canonique, qui est *h3t* ou *h3ty*. Nous allons donc voir si les deux autres éléments ne pourraient pas avoir cette même valeur phonétique. La réponse affirmative vient d'elle-même dans le cas du premier signe , qui à côté de *rnpt* a la valeur phonétique *h3t*, dans le groupe . Reste l'élément médiane . De ce signe, d'aspect singulier, se dégage l'impression que le scribe l'avait introduit exprès, pour augmenter davantage l'embarras de ses lecteurs. L'avait-il inventé *ad hoc*? Cela a été fait bien avant lui, à l'époque de la I<sup>re</sup> dynastie. En effet, l'élément médiane en question rappelle le signe se trouvant au troisième registre de la palette en ivoire de Naqada<sup>(1)</sup> et encore mieux celui de la tablette de <sup>(2)</sup>. Il reste à trouver l'original d'où le signe  pouvait être dérivé. Il semble représenter une plante et en plus, à en juger d'après la petite enflure au bas de la tige qui pouvait être une motte de terre, ce serait une plante de marais. Or, en consultant les signes archaïques, nous ne tarderons pas à découvrir le signe de la touffe de papyrus  où chacune des trois tiges le composant a un dessin se rapprochant de très près de celui de notre signe<sup>(3)</sup>. Il paraît donc que notre scribe n'a fait que dessiner une seule tige au lieu des trois canoniques. Notons enfin, pour terminer, que la pratique d'éliminer une partie du signe avait été employée encore ailleurs par notre scribe, soucieux d'assurer l'insolubilité de ses énigmes. Nous rappelons à la mémoire du lecteur les deux ailes du griffon  qui ont été enlevées pour faire croire à un chacal, aussi bien que le signe ambigu  qui remplace le signe de l'objet sacré de Létopolis, mais pourrait être facilement pris pour la « langue de terre » (col. 35, *supra*, p. 118). Remettant les choses à leur place, nous aurions donc devant nous non pas une seule tige , mais bien la touffe . Plus haut (v. s. v. *Emploi d'un déterminatif abusif*), nous avons déjà signalé que les déterminatifs  et  étaient abusifs.

Notre analyse aboutit ainsi à la conclusion que les trois groupes ,  et  ne représentent pas trois mots séparés, mais que ce sont là

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir notre article, dans *Ann. Serv.*, vol. I, pl. 15, fig. 16, reg. infér. t. XLI, p. 281, fig. 35, reg. infér. <sup>(2)</sup> Sir Fl. PETRIE, *Abydos*, vol. I, pl. 3, fig. 27 et 29.



trois éléments d'un seul et même mot, ayant chacun la valeur phonétique *h3t* ou *h3ty*. L'élément *h3ty* est répété trois fois d'après la mode archaïque, pour exprimer le pluriel (cf. 000 « jours », col. 29, 33). Le mot *h3ty* « cœur » peut-être écrit, soit , soit . Notre scribe suggère une troisième graphie  et... s'en sert des trois à la fois!


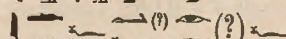
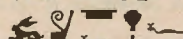

Le mot « cœur » fait partie de la phrase suivante :

 *Nwt pw hmt-s msw-s m h3tyw*  
 *m irt i' h n ibd*

« C'est la déesse Nout qui dote ses enfants de cœurs, « lors de la création de la lune du (?) mois (lunaire). »

Les « enfants » de la déesse du ciel pourraient être, soit des étoiles, soit les phases lunaires, qui, en tant qu'entités anthropomorphiques, devaient recevoir, les unes et les autres, leurs « cœurs ». La déesse Nout, fournissant l'organe vital — et particulièrement aux étoiles — est à comparer à la donation similaire, faite par la même déesse au roi défunt, devenant un astre au moment de son ascension au ciel<sup>(2)</sup>.

5° Le signe , à la colonne 20, s'il s'avérait juste, pourrait être une abréviation du mot  « écarter », employé avec élimination du son final faible comme un simple *n* du datif<sup>(3)</sup>. La phrase, dont notre mot fait partie, est comme suit :

 *sw wd Wsir*  
 *idr-f n (?) f irty (?) f*  
 *wn-f hr-f*  
 *m3-f im*

« Alors Osiris ordonna qu'il gardât (?) pour (?) lui ses deux yeux (?), qu'il ouvrît sa face et qu'il vît avec eux. »

<sup>(1)</sup> J. de MORGAN, etc. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. I, p. 24, n° 105. Cité d'après GARDINER, *Grammar*, p. 453, F. 4.

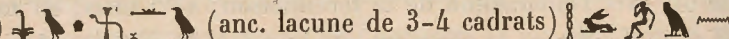



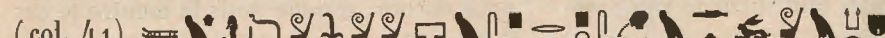

<sup>(2)</sup> *Pyr.*, 3.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. Ét. DRIOTON, dans *Revue d'Égyptologie*, t. I, p. 26, D. 42, et p. 43, n° 97.





L'autre venue au monde d'Horus est anormale. D'après la légende, exposée d'une manière laconique et défectueuse aux col. 39-41, les rôles semblent être renversés, Isis faisant fonction de « père » et Thoth étant la « mère ». En voici le texte :

(col. 39)  (anc. lacune de 3-4 cadrats)   
 (col. 40)   
(col. 41)   


(col. 39) « Alors Thoth ordonna que . . . . garçon, comme sa (fém.) morve (? *nfnf*?) dans (col. 40) ses (masc.) mains. Et alors ses (masc.) mains devinrent une vulve jusqu'à (?) leur plénitude (?). (col. 41) Atoum dit à Thoth : 'C'est (comme?) ce qui sortit de mes lèvres et ce que je crachai dans ma main qui était une vulve' | Shou, Tefnout | Ka, vulve | ».

La mise au monde d'Horus par Thoth, comparée (?) par Atoum à la manière dont lui-même avait appelé à l'existence Shou et Tefnout, évoque dans notre mémoire un passage assez semblable, faisant partie du *Pap. Chester Beatty I* (XIII, 1), où il est question des mains d'un dieu (Horus) qui reçoivent le sperme d'un autre dieu (Seth) (XI, 4).

La légende du crachat (*alias*, de la morve?), lancé dans la main et engendrant un dieu, nous rappelle une légende mexicaine, se trouvant à la base de la mise au monde du dieu Huitzilpochli : « Alors la tête morte (dissimulée parmi les fruits du calebassier) lança avec effort un crachat dans la main de la jeune fille (princesse Hquiq), tandis qu'elle était étendue vers elle... (tout en disant :) « Cette salive et cette bave, c'est ma postérité que je viens de te donner, etc. »<sup>(1)</sup>

De l'autre côté, la légende mexicaine nous fait penser au conte égyptien du *Pap. Orbiney*, où, en regard de la tête du héros, dissimulé, après être coupée, parmi les fruits d'un calebassier, se trouve le cœur du héros caché, après être arraché, parmi les fleurs (cônes?) d'un cèdre,

<sup>(1)</sup> « Popol Vuh », 92-93. Cité d'après E. STUCKEN, *Astralmythen*, p. 56.

et où le sperme du héros, jeté du haut d'un perséa, rend enceinte, par la bouche, la favorite royale.

Les dites similitudes entre les contes et légendes de l'Égypte et du Mexique ne nous obligent pas nécessairement à poser la question de la filiation, étant donné que les œuvres en question, ne présentant pas une suite imposantes de parallèles, pouvant naître dans les pays respectifs d'une manière spontanée.

Vladimir VIKENTIEV.

Le Caire, mai 1943.

THE INNER SARCOPHAGUS  
OF  
PRINCE RAMESSU FROM MEDINET HABU.

I

An anthropoid sarcophagus of a Ramesside prince was found at Medinet Habu in 1939 under circumstances which are rather vaguely reported. A pit situated about 100 metres north-west and outside of the enclosure wall of the great temple was cleared. It measured 2.50 m. by 1.25 m., and was 5 m. deep; there were no chambers of any kind, and the sarcophagus lay at the bottom without any other objects. The impression given was that it had been placed there for concealment, protection, or some such reason, certainly not in connection with a burial. It was brought to the Cairo Museum and registered under No. 72203.

The material is a dark fine-grained grey granite; remains of red paint are still visible on the wig, mouth, nose, and ears. It measures 1.92 m. long, and 0.51 m. wide at the shoulders. It may be pointed out that the deceased is shown wearing the vizier's dress (NEWBERRY, *Rekhmara*, pls. XII, XVI). The lid has been fastened to the body in the usual way with tenons fastened into slots with rivets; there are four on each side. Five of these have been forcibly extracted and the stone damaged in the process. The interior is quite clean, and shows no sign of having



of the inscriptions has been reproduced here (pl. XI) with a few improvements. For instance all the erasures are now indicated, and there are a few very minor additions. When *Gurob* was written (in England) it was not possible to collate the plate with the original. This I have now done with the most useful aid of my colleague Maurice Eff. Raphael's keen eyesight, and of special lighting, both of which were very necessary to decide the exact extent of the erasures on the rather rough surface of the granite. It is regretted that photographs were not feasible, partly owing to the position of the sarcophagus in the Museum, but chiefly owing to the nature of the surface.

It is now evident that lines of inscription were added on two separate occasions to the original texts; but the order of these was not as stated by Petrie in his note (*l. c.*, p. 24). The first addition is the upper of the two horizontal lines on each side where the owner's name is given as the king's son Ramessu *without cartouche*. This is more roughly cut and is clearly additional; only *one* horizontal line is ever seen on similar sarcophagi of the period. The second additions consist of the lines where the cartouche Ramessu-Mery-Amun occurs. These are the two side-columns on the lid; before Thoth (on the left side only where it is squeezed in: there is no room in the corresponding position on the right side); and on the foot where again the columns are squeezed in on each side of Isis.

The additions of the epithet  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (over erasures) are similar to those on the Medinet Habu sarcophagus. At the end of the centre column on the lid there is no  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  and the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is engraved upside down; the engraver apparently found this easier to do on the vertical surface of the toes. In the cross-bands on the right  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  has been added over the erasure in (1); in (2) there is none; in (3) it is over the erasure; and in (4) the seated figure determinative and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  are both over the erasure. In the cross-bands on the left in (1) and (2) the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is partly original; and in (3) and (4) over erasures. In (3) and (4) the signs  $\text{𓂏}$  are original, or, at any rate, not over erasures. In the right side lower horizontal line the old seated figure and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  are still faintly visible under the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ; on the left both have disappeared. And in this line, curiously enough, the name is written  $\text{𓂏} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  over an erasure. This is the only place where the original Pa-ramessu has been altered. In the "tablets" on the right

(with one exception) all the  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  are over erasures. With Imsety  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  are not over erasures, but added after the original text at the end of the column. With Thoth there is no name or  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , only an original  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  and  $\text{𓂏}$ . The "tablets" on the left are partly broken away, but were probably as on the right. There is no name with Anubis or with Thoth. On the foot with Isis there is  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (without  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ) apparently added in the vacant space. With the *dad* again  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  is added on both sides (once with  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  as well).

The coarse nature of the red granite makes it a little difficult in some places to be quite certain of the extent of the erasures; but the intention is obviously the same as it was for the Medinet Habu sarcophagus: Further the later engraver left the first occurrence of the name on the centre column of the lid followed by the seated figure and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  unchanged to  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  exactly as was done at Medinet Habu.

In the upper side lines which are without any doubt a first addition, the name  $\text{𓂏} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  occurs four times followed by  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (without  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ) and there are no erasures. The same is seen after the cartouches on the side columns of the lid. In the "tablet" before Thoth on the left side is an added column squeezed in; here the cartouche is followed by  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , the seated figure, and  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ . Beside Isis on the foot the cartouches are both followed by an original  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  without  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .

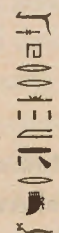
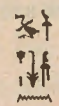
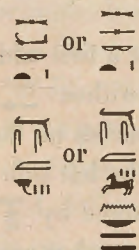
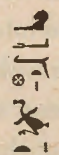
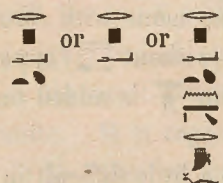
### III

We now come to the interesting question as to whether the two sarcophagi were made for the same person. All the additions and alterations of the inscriptions on the Medinet Habu sarcophagus are exactly paralleled on that of Gurob, with the one exception that at Gurob there is a first addition with the change from vizier to king's son but no cartouche on the upper side lines. The Medinet Habu vizier's name is always written Ramessu, while the Gurob vizier appears as Pa-ramessu; but the name is essentially the same, and the Gurob official wrote his name as Ramessu when he became king's son.

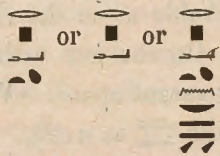


An examination of the titles is the next consideration. They are as follows :

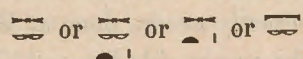
MEDINET HABU.



GUROB.



absent.  
absent.



absent.

absent.

absent.

absent.

absent.

The few titles at Gurob are all present at Medinet Habu where, however, there are several more.

When to all these minor points of resemblance we add that each vizier became a king's son, added to his name, and then adopted the same cartouche, making the same alterations and additions to the inscriptions, the conclusion is inevitable that the two sarcophagi were made for the same person. Further, the measurements show that the Medinet Habu sarcophagus will fit snugly into that from Gurob. And it seems to have been not unusual at this period for a noble to have had an outer coffin of the coarse red granite, and an inner one of the finer black or grey, as for instance the Viceroy Merimes (EDWARDS, *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts*, VIII, pp. 15-21; VARILLE, *Annales du Service*, XL, 570).


IV

What can be gleaned of Pa-ramessu's career from these discoveries? The inscriptions on the two sarcophagi taken together indicate that the vizier first wrote his name in full as Pa-ramessu, and later as Ramessu. He then became a king's son when was added to his name; it does not seem likely that this addition was made prior to his elevation to royal rank. Finally he became entitled to the use of a cartouche, and adopted the name Ramessu Mery-Amun.


Elliott Smith (*Gurob*, p. 24) has studied the bones which were found partly inside and partly outside the Gurob sarcophagus. As there was no evidence whatever that the tomb had been reused, we may safely take these bones to be the remains of the vizier's mummy. Elliott Smith decides that he was more or less of a cripple with a pronounced hunchback, and that he was less than thirty years old when he died.

V

We now come to the difficult and interesting question as to the parentage of this Pa-ramessu. That his father was a king and ascended the throne after his son had been appointed vizier seems certain from



the additions to the inscriptions. The absence of  is no evidence against this, as this is frequently omitted. For instance on the monuments of the famous son of Ramesses II Kha-em-uas as listed in GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, there are thirty-eight inscriptions where it is omitted, including his Canopic vase (MARIETTE, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 36 d). Further, the title "king's son" here is not purely honorary, for the honorary "king's sons" were always qualified as "of Kesh", or "of El Kab", or the like (GAUTHIER, *Annales du Service*, XVII, 245). Finally, the use of the cartouche definitely settles the question.



There is some archaeological evidence of the date of the tomb at Gurob. The cemetery there does seem to have extended beyond the earlier part of the XIXth Dynasty (*Gurob*, p. 22). The contents of the tomb are consistent with this date, as for instance the hawk-headed Canopic vase (*Gurob*, pl. xxxi, 31-36). And the form of the outer sarcophagus carved in one piece with a sled is like those of the Viceroy Merimes (*Annales*, XL, p. 570) and of the parents of Queen Tyi (QUIBELL, *Tomb of Yuia and Thuiu*, pls. VI, XIV), all of the later part of the XVIIIth Dynasty.



The only kings, then, which can reasonably be considered as the father of Pa-ramessu are Horun-em-heb, Ramesses I, Sety I, and Ramesses II. Under Horun-em-heb there lived a vizier named Pa-ramessu whose statues were found at Karnak. Though holding many high titles (many of which also occur on our sarcophagus from Medinet Habu), he is never called king's son; and Legrain is probably right in his suggestion that he eventually came to the throne late in life as Ramesses I (*Annales du Service*, XIV, p. 32). As we know that our vizier occupied that office before his father ascended the throne, he cannot be a son of Ramesses I who himself held that office before his accession. The sons of Ramesses II are well known from the lists; but among them, although there are at least three with the name Ramessu, this is always followed by an addition, such as "beloved of" or "son of" some god, to differentiate them; and none of these names are followed by . Finally, the use of the cartouche-name Ramessu, beloved of Amun, written like the cartouche of Ramesses II, and which, so far, has not been found prior to that reign, seems to link our "king's son" closely to that time. We

have therefore to fall back on Sety I as the most likely parent. And we have then a genealogy of alternating Sety's and Pa-ramessu's which is very satisfactory — Sety (Karnak statue), Pa-ramessu (Ramesses I), Sety I, Prince Pa-ramessu, vizier Sety (Tanis stela, see below).

VI

The reason for the addition of  to the name is difficult to explain; it does not occur elsewhere, and its meaning is quite uncertain. Engelbach's suggestion that it was added posthumously (*Gurob*, p. 24) will not hold water if the additional inscriptions of the Gurob sarcophagus are taken into account. Here the  had been adopted when Pa-ramessu became king's son, and before he used the cartouche and had been appointed heir.

Rowe has suggested that the cartouche and  together form a compound personal name on the analogy of (Ramessu-Mery-Amun)-user-renput (RANKE, *Personennamen*, p. 219). But it seems unlikely that the name of a non-royalty would be changed three times during his lifetime, and we must remember that the  was added before the cartouche was adopted. There would be no point in adding it to a name which was not that of a king.


Various epithets were added to the names of brother princes called Ramessu to distinguish them; and as Pa-ramessu was, according to our theory, a brother of Ramesses II, it might be suggested that  was added for the same reason. But there is a difficulty here as Pa-ramessu must have been the elder brother<sup>(1)</sup>, and one would imagine that the younger son would have been given the addition to his name. Possibly  was purely honorific, and not a sign of distinction.

<sup>(1)</sup> If Ramesses II had been older than Pa-ramessu, he would have been well over forty if he began his reign at the death of his father (see table below); this

is against the historical evidence. A long co-regency seems equally inadmissible. But did Sety I reign as long as has been supposed?

VII

Having decided that Sety I was probably the father of Pa-ramessu, let us consider the family history. As he was not a king's son when born, it follows that his birth took place before his father's accession. He was vizier before he became king's son, and it is reasonable to suppose that he cannot have been less than 20 years old when he was appointed to this high office and in a position to have his two fine sarcophagi prepared. He probably took over his grandfather's official position when the latter became king and his father became crown prince. Further his father could not have been much less than 17 years old when his son was born. If we allow two years for the time between his becoming vizier and his reaching royal rank, it follows that Sety I was about 39 years old at his accession. The length of his reign is not definitely known, but historians agree that some 21 years are required, if all his activities and the absolute chronology of the period are taken into account. He must then have been 60 years old at his death. The perfect state of his mummy prevented Elliott Smith from making an examination of his bones, and he makes no statement of his age at death. Petrie (*History*, III, p. 3) supposes him to have been 46, and the appearance of his mummy gives the impression that he was not very advanced in years. But Maspero (*Momies Royales*, p. 556) states « les sourcils, blancs au moment de la mort, ont été noircis par le goudron ». If this is a fact, then we are not unjustified in considering that he lived to sixty.

Reverting to the career of Pa-ramessu, we find that the culminating point was his adoption of the cartouche Ramessu-Mery-Amūn, according to the evidence of the sarcophagi. Engelbach has shown (*Gurob*, p. 22) that this must imply that he was considered heir to the throne. He was not associated as co-regent as the cartouche is not preceded by .

To render the relative ages of the family as clear as possible the following table has been drawn up, after Petrie's useful example. The absolute dates are Breasted's; they are inserted merely for convenience, and can be shifted backwards or forwards to suit any revised chronology without affecting the relative ages.

RAMESSES I	SETY I	PA-RAMESSU	RAMESSES II
1376 o born			
1352 24 son	o born		
1335 41	17 son	o born	
1322 54	30 son	13	o born
1315 61 accedes	37	20 vizier	7
1314 62	38	21 sarcophagi	8
1313 63 dies	39 accedes	22 king's son	9
1310	42 Syrian war?	25	12
1307	45	28 heir?	15
1306	46	29 dies	16
1292	60 dies		30 accedes
1225			97 dies

This table necessarily contains certain assumptions. For instance the age of Ramessu II at his accession is a matter of considerable difference of opinion. But the general scheme admirably fits what we know of the history.

VIII

Is this vizier Pa-ramessu mentioned on any other monuments? Engelbach has given reasons for the possibility that our prince may be the same as the son of Sety I whose figure or figures were erased from the battle scenes at Karnak; but he admits there is no proof of this. Breasted (*Ancient Records*, III, p. 65) has discussed these alterations and their historical implications very fully; they do not seem necessarily to indicate a feud between the two brothers. In fact, if the Karnak prince were our Pa-ramessu, one would have expected some obliteration of the cartouches on the sarcophagi had any bitter enmity existed. And, as we see above, Ramesses II was only sixteen years of age, or less, when his elder brother died.

Is our Pa-ramessu the same man as the vizier of the Karnak statues? The titles of the two show a striking similarity; half of the twenty Karnak titles occur on the Medinet Habu sarcophagus; but among those which

do not occur is the important  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆐}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓆒}}$ , which would surely not have been omitted. Further the Sety who was the father of the Karnak vizier was an unimportant personage to judge from his couple of titles, and it is inconceivable that he should be the man who became a great king when his son had acquired his very elevated position as a young man; for we must remember that our Pa-ramessu died at the age of thirty at most. It certainly seems that Legrain's suggestion that the Karnak vizier became Ramesses I, (and consequently that he was the grandfather of our Pa-ramessu), must be right.

The only other record of a vizier named Pa-ramessu which is known is on the famous stela set up by Ramesses II at Tanis in honour of Sety I and known as the Stela of Four Hundred Years. (BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, III, p. 226; A. WEIL, *Vizieren*, p. 93). The inscription states that this Pa-ramessu was the father of another vizier named Sety who went to Tanis on some mission. In the scene at the top the vizier Sety is shown standing behind Ramesses II. Both viziers are given a string of titles and both are described as  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ . Pa-ramessu's wife is named  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆐}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓆒}}$  and his titles are  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆐}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆑}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆒}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆓}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆔}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆕}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆖}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆗}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆘}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓆙}}$ . The Pa-ramessu of Gurob and Medinet Habu bore all these titles except 5, 6, and 7; 5 and 6 are particularly appropriate at Tanis, and 7 is unimportant. There is nothing then to render impossible the identification of the Tanis vizier with his namesake of Gurob. Montet (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1937, p. 423), and Drioton and Vandier (*L'Égypte*, p. 282) consider that the visit of Sety to Tanis took place in the reign of Horun-em-heb, thinking, apparently that the Pa-ramessu of the stela must be the Pa-ramessu of the Karnak statues. But they also agree with Legrain's theory that the Karnak Pa-ramessu came to the throne as Ramessu I; surely the two theories are incompatible. We cannot suppose that Ramessu II referred to his grandfather and father in the inscription as mere viziers, especially as the stela was erected in honour of Sety I named as such.

Pa-ramessu's marriage to a lady who was evidently not of royal blood may well have occurred before even his grandfather Ramesses I became king. There is therefore nothing surprising in this. Nor is it impossible that his son Sety should have been dead (if  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  implies this) when the

stela was erected as he could have been born about B. C. 1318 and would then have been four years older than Ramesses II himself if our family table is correct.


It is possibly a difficulty that the Tanis Pa-ramessu is not referred to as a king's son on the stela erected by his brother, nor is he called  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ . Perhaps after all there was some enmity between the two brothers, and



Fig. 37.

Ramessu II disallowed any reference to his royal titles in later times. Could his marriage to a commoner have had anything to do with this?

As this article was in the press M. B. Grdseloff drew my attention to a small bronze figure he had noticed in the collection of M. G. Michaelidis of Cairo. The owner has very kindly lent this to me for publication, and it has been drawn by my wife (fig. 37). It represents the god Amūn squatting, and the tenon below shows that it had formed part of a larger object. The bronze, which has been cleaned, has suffered slightly from corrosion. Its height is 6½ cms. over all. On the lap is an inscription faintly incised but still clearly visible with suitable lighting. It gives the name of the "King's son, the *erp'ty*, Pa-ramessu, *neb weben*". The *weben* sign has been slightly obliterated by corrosion of the projecting corner;

and I think that the mark behind the  is only a flaw and not a hieroglyph. It is clear that we have here an object made for Pa-ramessu after his father became king, but before he himself was entitled to the cartouche. In other words, it is of the same date as the *first* addition to the 'Gurob sarcophagus.

IX

Why did the inner sarcophagus remain at Medinet Habu while the actual burial in the outer sarcophagus took place at Gurob? There seems to be no very satisfactory explanation. The Medinet Habu sarcophagus has been forcibly opened. *When* this was done is of no particular interest; the point is that the lid had been once fastened on, though there seems never to have been a mummy inside (of which the robbers no doubt were not aware). A possible conjecture is that Pa-ramessu may have had a cenotaph at Thebes where his father was buried. The vizier User (A. WEIL, c. 19) under Thothmes III had a tomb-chamber at Gebel Silsila (LEPSIUS, *Denk.*, III, 25 bis; GRIFFITH, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1889, p. 103) and an unfinished cenotaph at Qurna (NEWBERRY, *Rehmarra*, p. 15, p. 16, note 11).

As we know that there were two viziers, one for Upper Egypt and one for Lower Egypt with the boundary at Siut, according to Newberry (GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 33; ERMAN, *ZÄS*, XXXIII, p. 24), we may feel confident that Pa-ramessu exercised his functions in the north; and this would give one reason why his burial was at Gurob and not at Thebes.

X

For the following amplification of the remarks in *Gurob*, p. 25 with regard to Hebrew legends referring to Egypt I am indebted to Dr J. Ben-Dor.

(Louis GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1913-1938. Vol. II, pp. 297-299, translation from *Sepher Hayashar*.)

«He had three sons and two daughters by the Queen Alfar'anit<sup>(1)</sup>, beside children from concubines. The name of the firstborn was Atro, the name of the second Adikam, and of the third Moryon. . . .

The firstborn of the sons of the king was an idiot, precipitate and heedless in all his actions.

The text of the relevant passage is :

ואדיקם היה איש ערים וחכם מאד ויודע בכל חכמת מצרים ואולם רע בתואר מאד  
ועב בשר וקצר קומה מאד ויהי ארכו אמה וזרת

«Adikam (the second son), was a cunning and clever man, and versed in all the wisdom of Egypt, but ungainly in appearance, fleshy and short of stature; his height was a cubit and a space», and his beard flowed down to his ankles. . . .





(The Pharaoh died of leprosy. . . .).

Adikam was 20 years old when he succeeded his father and he reigned 4 years. The people of Egypt called him Pharaoh, as was their custom with all their kings, but his wise men called him Akuz, for Akuz is the word for «short» in the Egyptian language and Adikam was exceedingly awkward and undersized. The new Pharaoh surpassed his father Malol and all the former kings in wickedness and he made heavier the yoke upon the children of Israel.

Vol. V, p. 413, n. 107.

As to Pharaoh's ungainly appearance see Talmud Babhli, Moed Katan, 18 a.

The statement in Shemoth Raba, 1, 34 that Pharaoh recovered from his leprosy seems to be directed against the view of Sepher Hayashar, according to which the Pharaoh of the Exodus was a son of the king who had been afflicted with leprosy on account of his cruelty to the Hebrews. See also PHILO, *Vita Mosis*, 1, 17.

Grdseloff has suggested to me that Adikam may well be a rendering of  -  -  -  "Idw, the Black".

If we realise that the late Jewish writers placed the Oppression and the Exodus in Ramesside times (and this view was, until recently, almost universally accepted), we may see in these legends, garbled as they no doubt are, a faint echo of our Pa-ramessu story. A hunchback may

<sup>(1)</sup> The name Alfar'anit seems to be Arabic, the feminine of Pharaoh, but compare Syncellus I, 227.

easily become a dwarf, and it is curious that Adikam “succeeded” his father, and died at 24. The age at death that I have allowed for Pa-ramessu is the extreme limit, and Sety I may have had an elder son. Further, the third son is named Moryon, which seems faintly to suggest Mery-Amūn, or Ramesses II.

XI

A very minor point in connection with the Gurob sarcophagus to which attention may be drawn, but which has no bearing on the above arguments, is the diverse way in which the name Pa-ramessu is written. These are: (1) ; (2) ; (3) ; (4) ; (5) ; (6) ; (7) ; (8) ; (9) ; (10) ; (11) ; (12) ; (13) . These only occur once each except (2) and (10) which are found four times, and (3) and (8) twice; (13) only occurs with the title “king’s son”. (9) is found twice with the title “king’s son”, and once over an erasure of what was presumably Pa-ramessu. (12) and (13) may be engraver’s errors. There is evidently a deliberate intention to vary the writings as much as possible so that there should be no possibility of mistake in the reading. This was no doubt because the name was proof of identity, and therefore a most important part of the personality. There are other instances of this phenomenon as for example the various writings of the name of Yuya, the father of Queen Tyi, on his funeral furniture (T. M. DAVIS, *Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, p. XIII). This used to be considered, quite unjustifiably, as evidence that the name was un-Egyptian.

Guy BRUNTON.



Sarcophagus of Paramessu, lid.



Sarcophagus of Paramessu, right side.

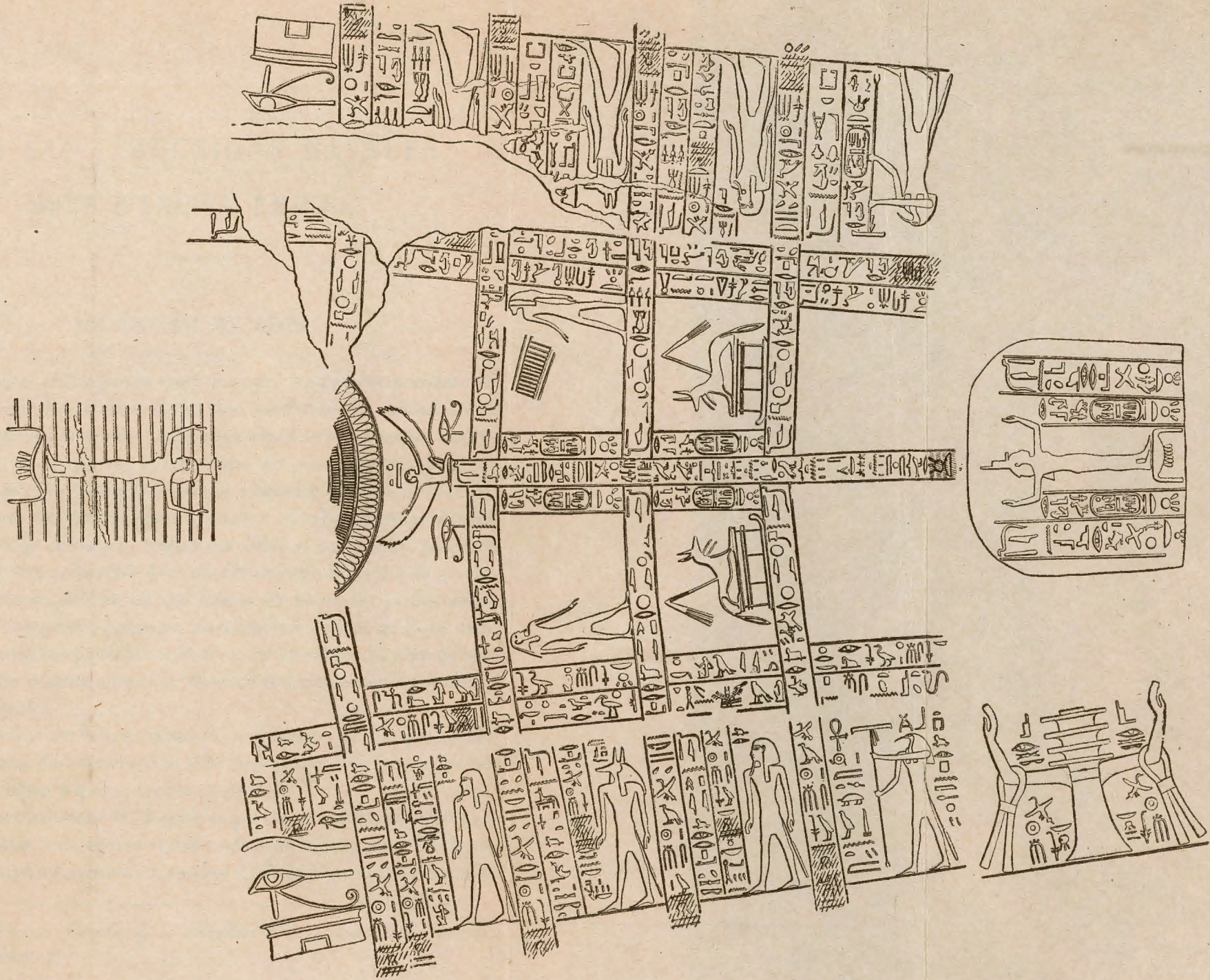


Sarcophagus of Paramessu, left side.





Sarcophagus of Paramessu, foot.



Sarcophagus of Paramessu, Gurob.

## LES CONSTRUCTIONS NAVALES SOUS L'ANCIEN EMPIRE.

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### LE NAVIRE EN BOIS.

Les premières embarcations construites par les peuples primitifs ont été généralement des pirogues monoxyles, « embarcations rudimentaires qui ne sont que de gros troncs d'arbres équarris d'un côté, creusés ensuite à l'intérieur et ne portant aucune trace de points d'appui pour les avirons ou pour les rames »<sup>(1)</sup>. Toute la résistance d'un tel flotteur est concentrée dans son bordé, ses dimensions sont celles du tronc d'arbre dans lequel il est creusé, sa largeur est faible et sa stabilité, toujours précaire, doit être recherchée dans un abaissement du centre de gravité car le coefficient de stabilité dû aux formes du navire est pratiquement négligeable. Voyageurs, équipage, marchandises doivent se loger dans la coque, le plus bas possible, et le pont, s'il en existe un, n'est qu'une simple couverture destinée à protéger du soleil et des embruns les matières les plus périssables.

Les dimensions du flotteur monoxylo sont limitées et, lorsque les besoins nécessitent des embarcations plus importantes, ce flotteur évolue vers la construction à quille, couples et bordés.

Les premiers habitants de l'Égypte ne paraissent pas avoir utilisé une telle embarcation dont aucune représentation ne subsiste dans les documents qui nous sont parvenus. L'absence d'arbres à grosses souches et à

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<sup>(1)</sup> G. DE MORTILLET, *Origines de la Navigation et de la pêche* cité par BOREUX, *Nautique Égyptienne*, p. 2.

fibres régulières, l'abondance des joncs, des roseaux et des papyrus sur les rives du Nil et dans les marais du Delta, surtout le calme des eaux sur lesquelles ils naviguaient, ont amené les habitants de l'ancienne Égypte à employer le radeau de jonc ou de papyrus à l'exclusion de toute autre barque. Ce radeau très large, aux extrémités fortement relevées, constitue une embarcation aux formes très caractéristiques. Le centre de gravité est toujours au-dessus du centre de carène, néanmoins, la stabilité est excellente grâce à la largeur de l'embarcation.

I

ÉVOLUTION DE LA BARQUE DE PAPYRUS. — L'Égypte ancienne, pour ses transports, dépend entièrement de sa batellerie; mais, durant les périodes prédynastiques et thinites, les matériaux à transporter sont légers. L'architecture n'utilise que les briques faites sur place ou des bois faciles à lier en radeaux et à amener ainsi jusqu'à leur lieu de destination.

Les premiers monuments en pierre font leur apparition dans les tombes sous Oudimou<sup>(1)</sup>, mais c'est Imhotep, ministre de Djeser, qui, le premier, en généralise l'emploi. La brique est alors définitivement remplacée par le beau calcaire de Tourah dans la construction des temples et des tombes royales. Cette innovation a une profonde influence sur la barque égyptienne qui doit désormais transporter des chargements plus lourds. Le léger plancher de branchages, s'il en existait un, fait place à un pont plus solide dont la construction apparaît dans la fresque de Meidoum.

II

LA BARQUE DE MEIDOUÛ (fig. 38). — Quatre personnages travaillent à la construction d'une barque de papyrus. Les deux ouvriers du centre serrent une ligature au moyen d'une longue corde, tandis que deux charpentiers, un à chaque extrémité, tenant l'un l'outil  $\leftarrow$  et l'autre le ciseau  $\uparrow$  s'affairent sur le pont.

<sup>(1)</sup> DRIOTON et VANDIER, *Les peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen*, II, p. 152.

Les légendes qui accompagnent cette scène sont les suivantes : derrière le charpentier de droite,  $\uparrow$   $\bullet$   $\uparrow$   $mnh$ ; entre les deux ouvriers qui travaillent au milieu de l'embarcation,  $\uparrow$   $\bullet$   $\uparrow$   $spt$ <sup>(1)</sup>. Les verbes  $mnh$  et  $spt$  sont fréquemment répétés dans les scènes de constructions de barques. Le sens de  $mnh$  « travailler le bois au ciseau et à la hâche » n'est pas discuté; quant à  $spt$ , Griffith, dont nous adopterons ici la traduction assez voisine du sens



Fig. 38. — (PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. XXXIII):

exact y voit « l'action d'attacher entre elles les bottes de papyrus dont la réunion constitue le radeau »<sup>(2)</sup>.

Une étude générale des barques représentées dans les tombes de l'Ancien Empire permet d'affirmer que la barque de Meidoum représente deux charpentiers qui ajustent le pont, en bois, de la barque tandis qu'au centre, deux ouvriers resserrent les ligatures du flotteur de papyrus.

On a toujours admis que cette embarcation était entièrement construite en bois, et cette erreur fondamentale a amené les commentateurs de cette scène à rechercher pour  $spt$  un sens différent de celui que les tombes de l'Ancien Empire avaient fait accepter comme probable. Le sens véritable de ce mot ne peut être défini en dehors du cycle complet des opérations auxquelles il se rapporte. Sa détermination rentre dans l'étude des procédés de construction de la barque de papyrus, étude que nous publierons plus tard. Nous verrons alors que, loin d'être un cas particulier, l'embarcation pontée de Meidoum constitue le prototype de la barque de papyrus la plus fréquemment représentée par les artistes de l'Ancien Empire.

<sup>(1)</sup> PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. XI. — <sup>(2)</sup> PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 37.

III

Sous la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie, l'architecture funéraire et sacrée évolue rapidement vers l'emploi massif des blocs de calcaire et de granit pour la construction des temples et des pyramides. La barque égyptienne, seul moyen de transport, au moins pour de grandes distances, se transforme elle aussi pour répondre aux besoins. Le flotteur de papyrus est lourd, sa flottabilité trop faible. Il fait place à une coque en bois plus légère et plus

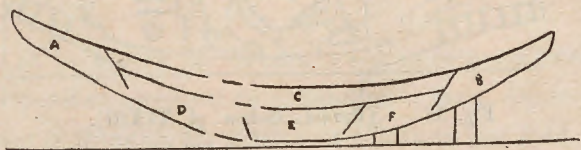


Fig. 39. — (MONTET, *Scènes de la vie privée*, fig. 43).

solide que nous voyons réalisée, avec certitude, pour la première fois dans le tombeau de Ti.

LE TOMBEAU DE TI. — Dans les « Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux de l'Ancien Empire », M. Montet décrit ainsi les phases de la construction d'une barque en bois dans la tombe de Ti (fig. 39) :

« Au début de l'Ancien Empire, une expérience déjà longue<sup>(1)</sup> avait déterminé le nombre et la forme des ais.

Sur l'un des bateaux du tombeau, celui que reproduit notre figure (voir pl. XXIII-2) il est possible de les distinguer. Chaque côté du bateau était un assemblage de sept pièces supportées par un fond plat..... On peut voir sur le bas relief du tombeau de Ti une grosse pièce de bois soutenue horizontalement au-dessus du sol par deux pieux fourchus qui tiennent lieu d'établi (pl. XXIII). Deux ouvriers s'y sont installés à califourchon et, armés chacun d'un maillet et d'un ciseau, ils pratiquent dans la face supérieure de l'ais deux mortaises rectangulaires.....

<sup>(1)</sup> P. Montet admet que le début des constructions navales en bois est indiqué par la barque de Meidoum.

L'assemblage (fig. 40). — Les bas reliefs du tombeau de Ti (reproduits sur la pl. XXIII) nous permettent de décrire la manœuvre par laquelle les ais de la coque étaient mis en place. Des trous ronds ou des mortaises ayant été creusés verticalement, on y enfonçait des tenons ou des chevilles dont la moitié supérieure faisait saillie. A ces « dents d'Osiris » correspondaient des trous creusés dans la face inférieure de la pièce à poser.



Fig. 40. — (MONTET, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII).

Les dimensions des « dents d'Osiris » et de leurs logements avaient été calculés de façon que la pièce nouvelle ne pût être mise en place qu'en forçant. Deux ouvriers armés de grosses masses de bois, sans manches, frappent à grands coups la face supérieure de la pièce C (fig. 45 et pl. XXIII-2) pour obliger les chevilles à pénétrer dans leurs logements. Un troisième ouvrier, à l'extérieur, arrêta, au moyen d'un maillet placé contre la coque, les vibrations que produisaient les coups portés par ses deux camarades<sup>(1)</sup>.

Il ressort de cette description que (sauf quelques points de détail que nous discuterons plus loin) la construction des embarcations en bois de l'Ancien Empire est identique à celle des embarcations retrouvées par M. de Morgan à Dahchour et décrite par M. Reisner<sup>(2)</sup>. Nous pouvons ainsi préciser certains détails invisibles dans le tombeau de Ti. Le fond plat auquel se réfère M. Montet et qui supporte l'assemblage des ais de la coque est une véritable quille plate, allant de l'avant à l'arrière,

<sup>(1)</sup> MONTET, *op. cit.*, p. 339 et 340. n° 4925. Ces barques datent de la

<sup>(2)</sup> G. REISNER, *Ships and boats*, XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

mais ne faisant pas saillie à l'extérieur de la coque<sup>(1)</sup>. Sa courbure étant très accentuée en certains points, elle est constituée par trois tronçons sensiblement rectilignes rigidement assemblés entre eux par de solides joints à queues d'arondes<sup>(2)</sup>. Quant au pont, qui lui non plus n'est pas

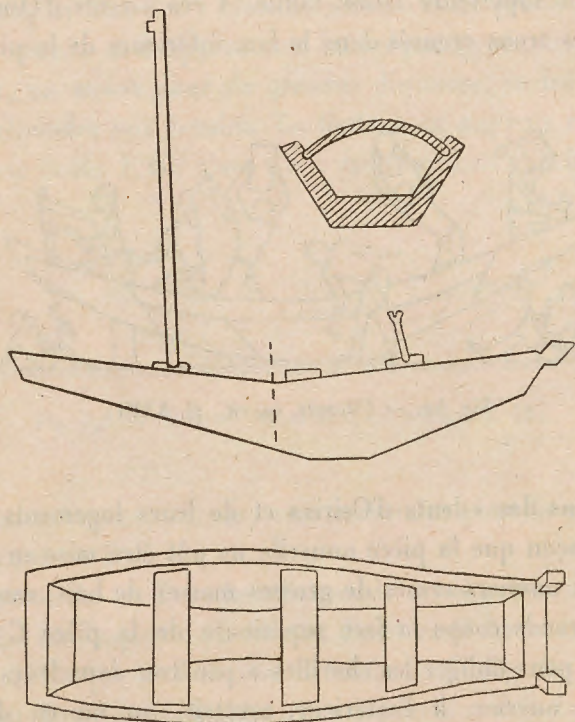



Fig. 41. — Ancien Empire, type I.

visible dans le tombeau de Ti, il est formé d'un longeron central qui supporte un certain nombre de baux transversaux. La grille ainsi formée<sup>(3)</sup> présente des vides qui peuvent être obstrués par des panneaux fixes ou mobiles pour former un pont continu. Le profil des embarcations

<sup>(1)</sup> Certains bâtiments modernes en fer ont aussi leur quille remplacée par une tôle plate qui porte le nom de tôle-quille.

<sup>(2)</sup> G. REISNER, *Models of ships and boats*, fig. 190, 193 et 200.

<sup>(3)</sup> La grille formée par le longeron et les baux est vraisemblablement désignée par  (n° 3 de la nomenclature de JÉQUIER, *Bull. IFAO.*, t. IX, p. 44).

en bois représentées dans les tombes de l'Ancien Empire rappelle, généralement, de façon très exacte celui des barques de papyrus; cependant les modèles de bois trouvés à Meïr, dans la tombe de *Pepi-en-ankh-kam* indiquent que les premières embarcations construites sont en réalité des

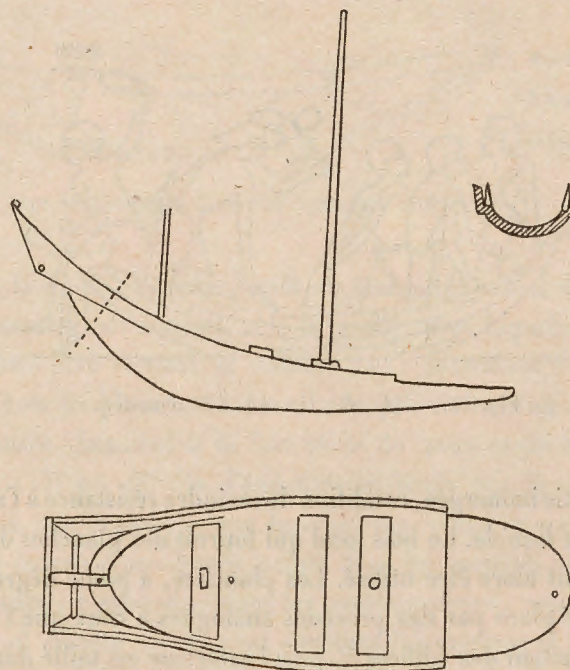


Fig. 42. — Ancien Empire, type II<sup>(1)</sup>.

chalands aux murailles inclinées et presque rectilignes, faites de longues planches assemblées (fig. 41). Les bois locaux ne peuvent évidemment pas être utilisés pour ces constructions qui visent à réduire le nombre de joints dont l'étanchéité est difficile à réaliser.

La Pierre de Palerme, tout en permettant de faire remonter à la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie la construction des premières embarcations de bois, précise l'emploi de bois exotiques : L'an  $x + 3$  du règne de Snéfrou, il fut construit des bateaux en bois d'*ach*. Le bois d'*ach* est le sapin<sup>(2)</sup> qui est un bois d'importation.

<sup>(1)</sup> G. REISNER, *op. cit.*, fig. 204 et 205. — <sup>(2)</sup> LORET, *ASA.*, XVI, p. 33-51.

Cependant, le problème du calfatage des joints étant résolu, le galbe s'assouplit et s'inspire résolument de la voûte, connue depuis longtemps dans les constructions terrestres (fig. 42). L'avant et l'arrière sont franchement semi-circulaires; la section transversale ne présente plus d'angles

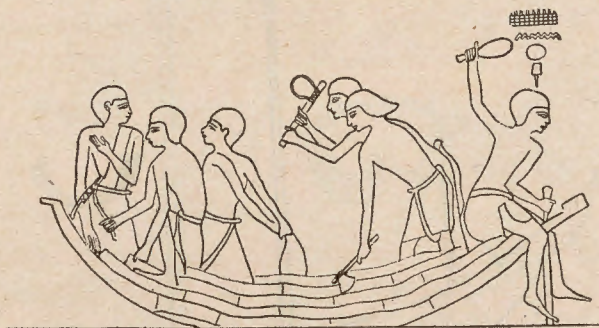


Fig. 43. — (L., D., II, 126, XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie).

vifs dans sa partie immergée, condition de moindre résistance à l'avancement dans un milieu liquide. Le bois local qui fournit des planches de moindres dimensions peut alors être utilisé. Les planches, à peine dégrossies, sont assemblées sur place par des procédés analogues à ceux que l'on emploie dans la construction des édifices<sup>(1)</sup>, puis l'extérieur est taillé dans sa forme définitive. Tel est du moins le procédé qu'indique une fresque de Beni-Hasan (fig. 43). Elle date de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, mais tout porte à croire que cette méthode de construction a été employée dès la fin de l'Ancien Empire.

#### IV

Les barques de bois marquaient un progrès considérable sur les radeaux de papyrus mais leur construction ne leur permettait pas de transporter sans risques les matériaux de construction de plus en plus lourds employés par les Égyptiens. Dès la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, la barque est munie d'une armature destinée à la consolider.

<sup>(1)</sup> HÉRODOTE, II, 96.

Les modèles en bois trouvés dans les tombes et décrits par M. Reisner montrent, en ronde bosse dans quelques exemples<sup>(1)</sup>, l'existence d'une muraille intérieure « non pas d'une carlingue à proprement parler (puisqu'elle présentait une très grande hauteur et qu'elle n'était pas en contact

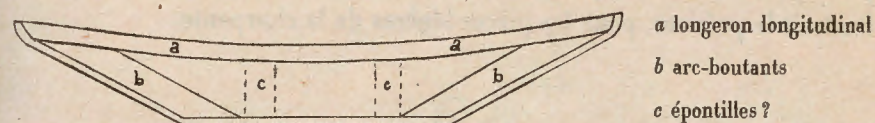


Fig. 44. — Coupe longitudinale du navire (armature intérieure).

direct avec la quille)<sup>(2)</sup>, mais plutôt un étai longitudinal destiné tout ensemble à assurer, de concert avec la quille, avec laquelle il se trouvait dans le même plan vertical, la stabilité de l'embarcation<sup>(3)</sup> et à supporter en leur milieu les planches transversales qui, fixées d'un côté de la muraille à l'autre, faisaient à la fois office de baux et de bancs pour les rameurs..... Il est difficile d'admettre qu'il n'y eut là qu'un dispositif particulier à une région, à une époque; car le fait que ce dispositif est indiqué au moyen d'une bande peinte dans les modèles où il ne pouvait être reconstitué, c'est-à-dire dans les modèles pleins, montre bien qu'on le considérait comme un élément constitutif important et qu'il devait en conséquence être très répandu<sup>(4)</sup>».

Les fresques de Zaouiyet el-Meitin<sup>(5)</sup> montrent la construction de l'armature intérieure du navire qui comprend, originalement : le longeron du pont, un arc boutant avant et arrière, une partie centrale (composée probablement de plusieurs épontilles) et peut-être un vaigrage qui réunit, de chaque côté de l'armature, le longeron à la quille plate et assure une parfaite rigidité à l'ensemble (fig. 44).

<sup>(1)</sup> G. REISNER, *Models of ships and boats*, n<sup>os</sup> 4798, 4799, 4800, 4801.

<sup>(2)</sup> Nous verrons qu'au contraire cette muraille assure la liaison entre le pont et les pièces qui forment quille plate.

<sup>(3)</sup> Étant donné la largeur du navire

et son faible tirant d'eau l'influence de l'armature sur la stabilité est presque négligeable.

<sup>(4)</sup> BOREUX, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

<sup>(5)</sup> L., D., II, pl. 108.

Dans les modèles peints ce vaigrage semble être indiqué par une bande blanche de chaque côté de la bande ocre qui représente l'armature<sup>(1)</sup>. Reisner indique parmi les conventions employées lors de la peinture des modèles étudiés, l'emploi du rouge et du jaune pour les principales pièces de la charpente et du blanc pour les parties mobiles et, il faudrait le préciser, pour les pièces légères de la charpente.

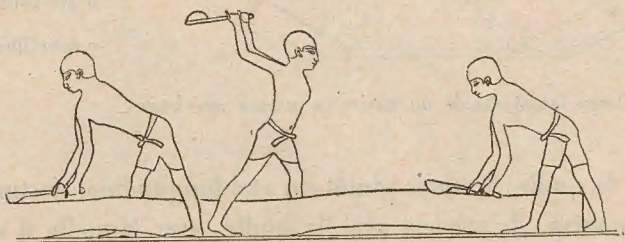


Fig. 45. — (L., D., II, pl. 108).

On peut suivre le façonnage et la mise en place de ces éléments sur la fresque de Zaouiyet el-Meitin. Elle comprend quatre registres.

*Registre supérieur* (il en manque environ 1/4 à gauche). Trois-ouvriers façonnent à la hache le longeron central du pont (fig. 45).

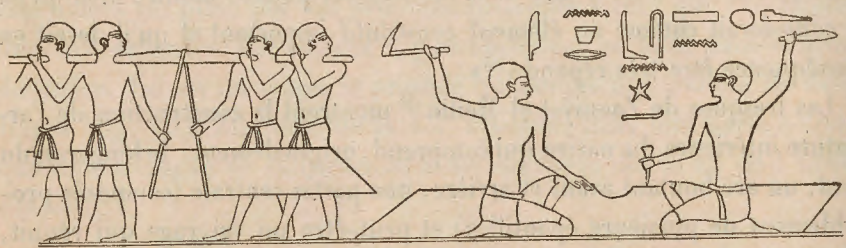


Fig. 46. — (L., D., II, pl. 108).

*Deuxième registre.* — A gauche, quatre manœuvres transportent, au moyen d'une perche posée sur leurs épaules, un des arcs-boutants de l'armature intérieure qui vient d'être terminé. A droite, deux charpentiers creusent, à l'herminette et au ciseau, un évidement dans lequel viendra s'encaster la base d'un mâtereau (fig. 46).

<sup>(1)</sup> G. REISNER, *op. cit.*, n° 4798, 4799, 4800, 4801.

*Troisième registre* (la partie gauche manque presque entièrement). — On voit seulement, à gauche, un charpentier assis les jambes pendantes à une extrémité de l'embarcation.

A droite quatre charpentiers ajustent les bordés pour la mise en place de la lisse (fig. 47)<sup>(1)</sup>.



Fig. 47. — (L., D., II, pl. 108).

*Quatrième registre.* — A gauche, un des arcs-boutants de l'armature intérieure est mis en place. Il est appliqué, contre la quille, par quatre ouvriers armés de pinces, avant sa fixation définitive.

A droite, on aperçoit le cintrage du longeron médian qui donnera au pont la tonture<sup>(2)</sup> désirée. L'embarcation est solidement étayée, un certain nombre de cordages sont fixés aux extrémités de la pièce à courber

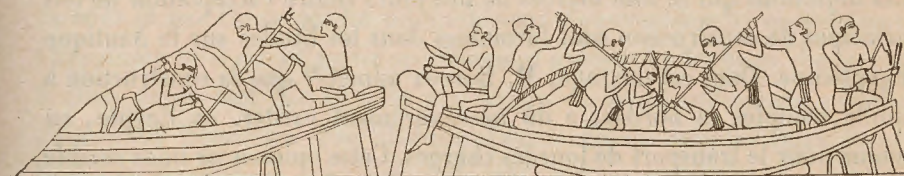


Fig. 48. — (L., D., II, pl. 108).

et passent au centre dans un poteau fourchu assujéti au milieu du longeron. Six manœuvres donnent à ces cables, par l'intermédiaire de deux leviers, une torsion énergique qui permet d'amener le longeron à la courbure voulue. A chaque extrémité, un charpentier fixe cette pièce de charpente sur l'armature du navire (fig. 48). La mise en place de la partie

<sup>(1)</sup> Cette lisse est en place dans le 4<sup>e</sup> registre.

<sup>(2)</sup> Courbure obtenue en donnant à

l'avant et à l'arrière d'un navire une forme relevée.



centrale de l'armature n'étant pas représentée, on ne possède aucun renseignement sur la façon dont elle était réalisée.

\*  
\* \*

La conception d'un navire qui, suivant l'affirmation précise d'Hérodote<sup>(1)</sup> ne comportait pas de couples, a soulevé de nombreuses critiques.

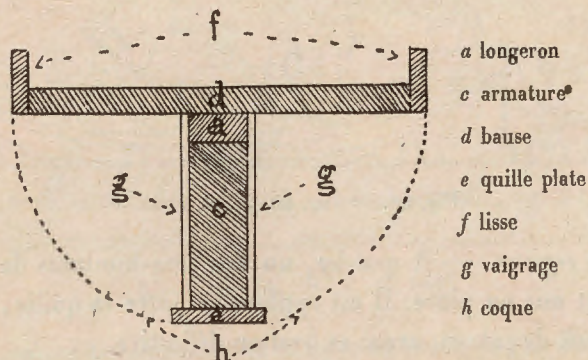


Fig. 49. — Coupe de l'embarcation et de son armature.

Les objections qui se sont élevées de nos jours contre l'acceptation de tels principes de construction sont formulées dans les *Études sur la Nautique Égyptienne*. Dans cet ouvrage, M. Boreux admet<sup>(2)</sup> que la construction à quille, couples et bordés, a dû nécessairement exister, en Égypte, au moins pour le transport de lourdes charges. Cette opinion ne nous semble pas fondée. Nous remarquons en effet que, si nous négligeons les bordés (qui sont ici réduits au rôle unique de flotteur), une coupe de l'embarcation, dans sa partie centrale, fait apparaître dans le pont, la lisse<sup>(3)</sup>, l'armature centrale et la quille plate, le profil connu des ingénieurs sous la dénomination de profil en T (fig. 49). Ce mode d'assemblage des

<sup>(1)</sup> HÉRODOTE, II, 96.

<sup>(2)</sup> BOREUX, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>(3)</sup> Dans les barques de Dahshour, seul modèles qui nous soient parvenus de la construction antique égyptienne, la lisse n'est pas composée, comme le

reste de la coque, de planches courtes mais de trois longues planches de chaque côté. Ces planches sont réunies par des queues d'arondes et concourent à la solidité de l'ensemble.

matériaux est parmi ceux qui donnent une rigidité et une solidité maxima pour un poids déterminé<sup>(1)</sup>. C'est certainement la plus ancienne utilisation connue de ce dispositif.

La rigidité des murailles, de ces bordés que nous avons négligés tout à l'heure, ne peut pas, elle non plus, être mise en doute. M. de Morgan qui exhuma les barques de Dahshour donne sur ce sujet une indication précieuse : « Ce mode de construction semble avoir été très solide car plusieurs millénaires après leur construction, les deux barques dégagés des décombres qui les soutenaient se tenaient parfaitement rigides. » De plus Reisner signale que des barques sans couples, de construction analogue à celle des barques de Dahshour, sont aujourd'hui encore utilisées au Dangola et à Assouan, dans la région des cataractes. Il ne semble donc pas que la solidité de la barque égyptienne puisse être mise en doute.

M. Boreux voit aussi dans la terminologie navale égyptienne une confirmation de son point de vue<sup>(2)</sup>. Les  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ , traduits « couples » par Brugsch et Le Page Renouf, n'échappent pas à la règle qui veut qu'une traduction aussi délicate que celle des parties de la charpente du navire, basée uniquement sur des textes, soit discutable.

Cette interprétation est contestée par Legrain, qui traduit par « flanc, carène » et par Birch qui lui donne le sens d'« assemblage », en émettant l'hypothèse qu'il devait servir spécialement à désigner les baux. La signification de ce mot  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$  n'est pas établie de façon suffisamment précise pour nous permettre d'en déduire l'existence de couples dans l'embarcation égyptienne qui, renforcée par son armature intérieure peut transporter les plus lourds fardeaux.

Les données que nous possédons nous permettent d'affirmer, tout au moins en ce qui concerne la construction de la coque, que l'évolution de la barque de rivière est accomplie dès la fin de l'Ancien Empire. L'embarcation égyptienne primitive est le radeau de papyrus dont les deux éléments, pont et flotteur, évoluent rapidement et successivement entre la III<sup>e</sup> et la V<sup>e</sup> dynasties. Durant cette période, les matériaux que les navires ont à transporter deviennent plus lourds et plus encombrants;

<sup>(1)</sup> La construction par quille et bulaire.

<sup>(2)</sup> BOREUX, *op. cit.*, p. 290 et suiv.

la barque doit s'adapter sans cesse à de nouveaux besoins. L'évolution est nette, précise, parfaitement logique. Les différents types rencontrés répondent chacun à des besoins différents. Ils subsistent tous jusqu'à la fin de la civilisation pharaonique, jusqu'à nos jours même, au Soudan et dans la région des cataractes.

Hérodote aurait parfaitement pu écrire, s'il avait vécu alors, sa description fameuse des barques égyptiennes, dès la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie : « Elles sont faites avec le bois de cet acacia qui rappelle tout à fait par son aspect extérieur le lotus de Cyrène, mais dont la sève est une résine. Après avoir coupé dans cet acacia des planches d'environ deux coudées, ils assemblent celles-ci comme des briques et pour les façonner en forme de barques, ils emploient le procédé suivant. Ils fixent ces planches de deux coudées autour de chevilles assez rapprochées les unes des autres et assez longues; puis, lorsqu'ils leur ont ainsi donné la forme d'une barque, ils disposent les baux par dessus. Ils ne font jamais usage de couples; intérieurement ils ont coutume de consolider les assemblages avec du papyrus<sup>(1)</sup> ».

Le dernier paragraphe du texte d'Hérodote se rapporte de toute évidence au calfatage des embarcations pour lequel on se servait de papyrus. Nous n'avons rien rencontré au cours de cette étude qui nous renseigne sur les méthodes employées. L'examen des barques de Dahshour, lorsqu'il sera possible, sera peut-être capable de nous fournir quelques indices sur la façon dont l'étanchéité des joints était assurée dans la barque égyptienne.

L'évolution des constructions navales sous l'Ancien Empire est très rapide. Le premier texte qui mentionne la barque de bois<sup>(2)</sup> est de la fin de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie; l'armature intérieure, dernier élément important de la charpente du navire, est mentionnée dans les tombes dès la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie. On assiste à un phénomène à peu près analogue à celui que nous ont révélé les monuments de Djoser. Les constructeurs égyptiens produisent d'un seul jet, presque sans tâtonnements et avec une étonnante maîtrise de leur art, des œuvres qui nous émerveillent par leur perfection.

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<sup>(1)</sup> HÉRODOTE, II, 96. — <sup>(2)</sup> Pierre de Palerme. E. NAVILLE, *Recueil de travaux*, XXV, p. 63.

Les premières barques en bois s'inspirent des sarcophages dont elles emploient les procédés d'assemblage; cependant les faces avant et arrière ne restent pas verticales, elles s'inclinent pour donner au navire un profil qui se rapproche de celui de la barque de papyrus. C'est une simple ébauche de ce que sera la barque. La section transversale, les extrémités avant et arrière s'arrondissent : « Ils coupent des planches de deux coudées et les assemblent comme des briques », la construction s'inspire judicieusement de celle de la voûte. L'embarcation légère est créée. Presqu'aussitôt, pour les lourdes charges, celle est renforcée par une solide armature intérieure. L'embarcation égyptienne subsistera ainsi durant des siècles.

André SERVIN.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE MONTH TYBI.

The prototypes of the Greek and Coptic names by which the months of the Egyptian year were designated throughout the Græco-Roman and Christian period were theoretically recognised long ago. It was clear that they were the names of the tutelary divinities presiding over each month or were derived from their names or their feasts<sup>(1)</sup>. Only more recently has it been possible to trace these month-names back to actual names occurring in business texts of the Ramesside period. Thus Erman<sup>(2)</sup> identified in the accounts of the British Museum hieratic ostrakon No. 5639 a<sup>(3)</sup> the feasts that lie at the root of the names of Thouth, Phaophi, Athyr, Khoiak, Mekhir and Phamenoth. A few years later Gardiner<sup>(4)</sup> added the feasts Epeiph and Mesore from two papyri at Turin, and the documents which I published from the Cairo Museum and from the French Institute's excavations at Der el-Madīnah yielded the prototypes of Pharmuthi and Payni<sup>(5)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> BRUGSCH, *Die Ägyptologie* (Leipzig 1891), pp. 359-361.

<sup>(2)</sup> ERMAN, *Monatsnamen aus dem neuen Reich* in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.* 39 (1901), pp. 128-130.

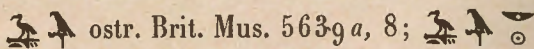
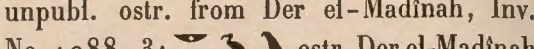
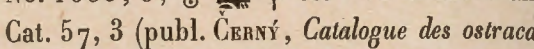
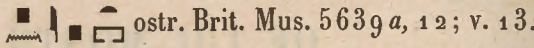
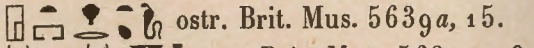
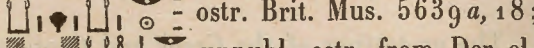
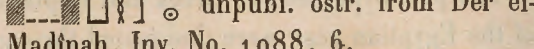

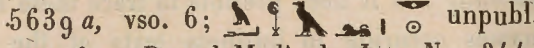
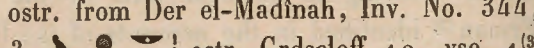

<sup>(3)</sup> Published in facsimile in *Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Charac-*

*ter from the Collections of the British Museum* (London, 1868), pl. XXVIII.

<sup>(4)</sup> GARDINER, *Mesore as first month of the Egyptian year* in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.* 43 (1906), 136-144.

<sup>(5)</sup> ČERNÝ in *Archiv für Orientforschung* V (1928-29), 114.

It is now possible, therefore, to compile the following table<sup>(1)</sup> of correspondences<sup>(2)</sup>:


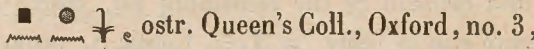
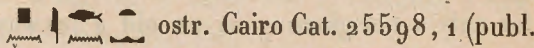
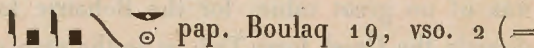
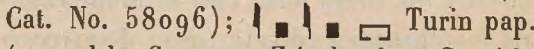
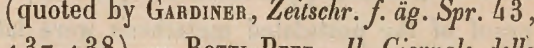

GREEK	COPTIC SA'IDIC	EGYPTIAN
Θωθ	ΘΟΥΤ	 ostr. Brit. Mus. 5639 a, 8;  unpubl. ostr. from Der el-Madīnah, Inv. No. 1088, 3;  ostr. Der el-Madīnah Cat. 57, 3 (publ. ČERNÝ, <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médīneh</i> ).
Φωφι	ΠΑΛΠΕ	 ostr. Brit. Mus. 5639 a, 12; v. 13.
Αθυρ	ΖΛΘΩΡ	 ostr. Brit. Mus. 5639 a, 15.
Χοιακ	ΚΙΛΖΚ	 ostr. Brit. Mus. 5639 a, 18;  unpubl. ostr. from Der el-Madīnah, Inv. No. 1088, 6.
Τυβι	ΤΩΒΕ	
Μεχιρ	ΜΩΙΡ	 ostr. Brit. Mus. 5639 a, vso. 6;  unpubl. ostr. from Der el-Madīnah, Inv. No. 344, 3;  ostr. Grdseloff 12, vso. 1 <sup>(3)</sup>
Φαμενωθ	ΠΑΡΜΖΟΤΠ	 ostr. Brit. Mus. 5639 a, vso. 8; ostr. Queen's Coll., Oxford, no. 3, l. 5 (quoted by GARDINER, <i>Egypt. Hieratic Texts</i> , p. 13*, note 8).

<sup>(1)</sup> For previous lists cf. EDUARD MEYER, *Nachträge zur äg. Chronologie* (*Abhandlungen Preuss. Akad.*, 1907), 16-17; GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, III, 185-186; R. WEILL, *Bases, méthodes et résultats de la chronologie égyptienne* (Paris 1926), 112-126.

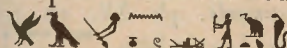
<sup>(2)</sup> The Greek forms are taken from

GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Dem. Pap. Rylands*, III, 185-186, the Coptic from STEINDORFF, *Koptische Grammatik*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., § 542. A few unpublished examples of Egyptian forms have been added to those that are already known.

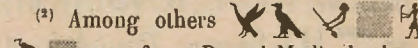
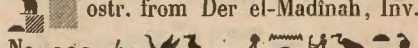
<sup>(3)</sup> Grdseloff has been kind enough to draw my attention to this example and allowed me to quote it.

GREEK	COPTIC SA'IDIC	EGYPTIAN
Φαρμουθι	ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ	 ostr. Der el-Madīnah, Cat. No. 35, 14 (publ. ČERNÝ, <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médīneh</i> ); unpubl. ostr. Der el-Madīnah, Inv. No. 1088, 1.
Παχων	ΠΑΧΩΝΣ	 ostr. Queen's Coll., Oxford, no. 3, l. 7 <sup>(1)</sup> .
Παυσι	ΠΑΩΝΣ	 ostr. Cairo Cat. 25598, 1 (publ. ČERNÝ, <i>Ostraca hiératiques, Cat. gén.</i> ), former number J. E. 50351. <span style="float: right;">cf. ASAE. EI, 441</span>
Επειφ	ΕΠΕΠ	 pap. Boulaq 19, vso. 2 (= Cat. No. 58096);  Turin pap. (quoted by GARDINER, <i>Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.</i> 43, 137-138) = BOTTI-PEET, <i>Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe</i> , pl. 59, 19;  unpubl. ostr. Der el-Mad., Inv., No. 1088, 2.
Μεσορη	ΜΕΣΩΡΗ	 pap. Turin, PLEYTE-ROSSI, pl. 153, 12 (quoted by Gardiner) = BOTTI-PEET, <i>Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe</i> , pl. 5, 2.



As can be seen from the preceding conspectus all Egyptian prototypes are now attested except for Tybi.

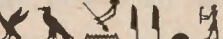





In the list of feasts contained in the Brit. Museum ostracon 5639 a the place where one would expect an equivalent of Tybi is taken by a feast  "the navigation of Mut" (vso. l. 4). This must have been very popular, as it occurs often in Theban papyri and ostraca of Ramesside period<sup>(2)</sup> and its popularity so over-shadowed that of the

<sup>(1)</sup> I owe to Dr. Gardiner's kindness a copy of this ostracon and the permission to quote from it.

<sup>(2)</sup> Among others  ostr. from Der el-Madīnah, Inv. No. 290, 4; 



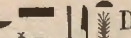
eponymous feast of Tybi that the latter is never mentioned in the documents.

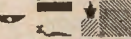
An etymology for Tybi was suggested by the list of feasts contained in the papyrus Ebers<sup>(1)</sup> from the beginning of the New Kingdom where the place of Tybi is occupied by a feast called  Šf-bdt<sup>(2)</sup>. The latter is also found in late calendars in the temple of Edfu and Dendarah<sup>(3)</sup> and it has been generally accepted that after the falling away of the first element Šf the remaining bdt, \*bōdet (Coptic Ⲭⲟⲩⲉ) by metathesis gave rise to \*dōbe > Tybi, Coptic S. ⲧⲟⲬⲉ, B. F. ⲧⲟⲬⲓ<sup>(4)</sup>. The initial ⲧ of the Bohairic form seemed to agree well with this explanation, for only a t originating in an old d (as was here the case of \*bōdet > \*dōbe > \*tōbe) could appear as unaspirated ⲧ in an accented syllable in Bohairic, while t = old d turned into Ⲑ. This apparent proof, however, was of no great value, for the Bohairic form ⲧⲟⲬⲓ certainly imitates directly the Greek form Τυβί as in the case of most of the other Bohairic month-names (Φαμενωθ, Φαρμουθι, Παχων etc.). A better proof of the postulated metathesis were late variants of the feast-name Šf-bdt like  Šf-tb<sup>(5)</sup>, which seemed to attest the metathesis

Inv. No. 293, 3;   
 Inv. No. 380, 3;   
 Inv. No. 1088, 7;   
 pap.  
Turin, PLEYTE-ROSSI, pl. 68, III, 1.

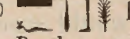
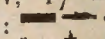
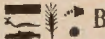
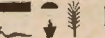
<sup>(1)</sup> Now in photographic reproduction in BORCHARDT, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der äg. Geschichte*, Blatt I (facing p. 20).


<sup>(2)</sup> Usually translated as "Swelling of wheat", cf. SETHE, *Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ägypter*, II, 39 (*Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1920).

<sup>(3)</sup> In Edfu :  BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 472 = L., D., *Text*, IV, 61;  BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 475; in Dendarah :  DÜMICHEN, *Bau-*

*geschichte des Denderatempels*, pl. XXXII = BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 307;  MARIETTE, *Dendéra*, IV, pl. 37, 63 = LORET, *Rec. de trav.*, IV (1883), 24 = BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 307.

<sup>(4)</sup> GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Dem. Pap. Rylands*, III, 185, and especially SETHE, *Die Zeitrechnung der alten Ägypter*, II, pp. 42, note 4 (*Nachrichten der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1920).

<sup>(5)</sup>  DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, pl. XV, 17 = BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 500; in Edfu :  DÜMICHEN, *Zeitschr. f. äg., Spr.*, VIII (1870), pl. II, 26 = BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 255, 40 = *ibid.*, 1334, 11 = CHASSINAT, *Edfou*, VII, 7, 1;  BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 266, 12 = *ibid.*, 1330, 4 = CHASSINAT, *Edfou*, IV, 8, 4;  BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 307.

though it was still difficult to understand why the word  bdt "wheat" should suffer an early metathesis in the feast-name and yet remain quite unaltered much later in the common Coptic appellation Ⲭⲟⲩⲉ "wheat". The nature of the evidence was such that it was impossible strictly to prove or disprove the suggested etymology and explanation. The situation changed radically when the Aramaic transcription of name of Tybi became known.

As the previously published lists of Aramaic forms of the Egyptian month-names are incomplete, it may be of value first to establish a new one corresponding to the material now available<sup>(1)</sup>.

GREEK	ARAMAIC
Thouth	תחוח 16. 29. 33. 85. 195;
Phaophi	פאפי 4. 19. 133. (144). 182 three times;
Athyr	תתחור 103;
Khoiak	כחך 183;
Tybi	תעובי 142. 173. 176; תעבי 202;
Mekhir	מחיר 80;
Phamenoth	פמנחתך 66. 70. (130). (154);
Pharmuthi	פרמתי 130;
Pakhon	פחנס 10. 42. 107. 130. (154);
Payni	פאני (57); פאני (187);
Epeiph	אפה 1. 44. 167;
Mesore	מסורע 22. 37. 107. 167.

A comparison of the list with the Egyptian names listed above, p. 174 reveals that the Aramaic transcriptions of the Vth. century B. C. still conserve meticulously the consonantal skeleton of the month-names as it existed at the Ramesside period and any divergences that occur can easily be accounted for by known changes in pronunciation.

<sup>(1)</sup> The numbers added refer to the pages of the most recent publication by COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth*

*Century B. C.*, Oxford 1923; those in square brackets refer to damaged examples.

Now in the case of Tybi, the Aramaic documents quite unexpectedly supply תבוי three times and תבי once, and while it is easy to explain the presence of ך, expressing a long vowel  $\bar{u}$ , in the former and its absence in the latter by the liberty of indicating vowels in a consonantal writing, the presence of a full consonant 'Ayyin ע in all the Aramaic examples does not agree at all with the accepted etymology of Tybi < (Šf)-tbt < Šf-bdt, since the supposed Egyptian prototype does not contain 'Ayyin. On the other hand it is certain that Aramaic would not have added an ע, if an 'Ayyin had not existed in the Egyptian form<sup>(1)</sup>. It is therefore necessary to look for another more acceptable etymology.

The final Yōd י in the forms תבוי and תבי compared with פאפי Phao-pi (Pʔ-(n)-'lpt) and פרמחי Pharmuthi (Pʔ-(n)-Rnnwt) suggests that, as in these latter, in Tybi תבוי we have also to do with a feminine word, the final t of which fell off leaving as ending an -e expressed in Aramaic by a Yōd י. If this is right, it is also quite natural to see in the initial ת the feminine definite article ת. What is now left, that is תב or תבי, must represent an appellative, such as could occasionally appear with a definite article. Some years ago, when discussing the origin of the name of Tybi in the light of the Aramaic evidence, Prof. Gunn and I agreed that the well known Egyptian word for "offering", written  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  in New Kingdom would well satisfy all the required conditions. The original form of this word is  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  'bt a form which occurs as early as the Pyramid texts, but the internal 'Aleph would have disappeared very early causing a lengthening of the short preceding vowel  $\delta$  into  $\bar{o}$ <sup>(2)</sup>. The development of the vocalisation of the word would then presumably be \* $\delta'$ bet > \* $\bar{o}$ bet > \* $\bar{o}$ be > Coptic \* $\omega\beta\epsilon$ , exactly as  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  m:kt "leadder" gave \* $\bar{m}\delta'$ ket > \* $\bar{m}\delta$ ket > \* $\bar{m}\delta$ ke > Coptic B.

<sup>(1)</sup> The absence of 'Ayyin in the Arabic name of Tybi طوبية means nothing, for Arabic names (geographical, personal or others) in every case go back to Coptic and not to ancient Egyptian forms. As in Coptic no 'Ayyin was written, and was therefore not pronounced in most

cases, it does not occur in Arabic words of Egyptian origin either. Similarly it is also missing in the month-name  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  from *Mswt-r'*,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .

<sup>(2)</sup> Like in  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  >  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  "head" and elsewhere.

ΜΟΥΚΙ<sup>(1)</sup>. The prototype of Tybi would, therefore, be  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ bt "the offering" from a feast occurring in the month of Tybi during which great and general offerings used to be brought either to a divinity or to the dead. Satisfactory as was this etymology, it was difficult to adduce from Egyptian texts examples in which 'bt designated a specific offering of sufficient importance to give its name to a feast and to the whole month. No wonder, therefore, that the long search which would have been necessary has been delayed for so many years so as to become unnecessary, for quite recently I came across evidence that puts the derivation of Tybi from \* $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ bt "the offering" beyond all doubt.

The evidence in question is furnished by a Ramesside hieratic papyrus acquired not long ago by the Cairo Museum<sup>(2)</sup>. It contains the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky days, a more complete duplicate of the well known papyrus Sallier IV. On the verso, at the end of the Calendar, the scribe has made a number of entries including the following short column<sup>(3)</sup>:

1.	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$
2.	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•
3.	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•
4.	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•
5.	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•
6.	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•	$\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$	•	•

<sup>(1)</sup> The  $\bar{u}$  instead of  $\bar{o}$  is here due to the presence of *m*. It is the same formation of triconsonantal feminines as \* $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  >  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .

<sup>(2)</sup> Journal d'Entrée No. 86637.

<sup>(3)</sup> I am greatly indebted to the Director of the Antiquities Department, Mr. Drioton, for the permission to study

the papyrus and to publish an extract from it here, and to Mr. Guéraud for a skilful and quick unrolling of the document.

<sup>(4)</sup> For this mistake of spelling of  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  cf. the example from the Der el-Madinah ostrakon in the list, above p. 174.







la nacelle porte deux bois croisés»). Schäfer mentionne le fait connu « dass in Beischriften hinter dem Namen eines Gegenstandes ein Zeichen erscheint, dass zwar natürlich zur selben Begriffsklasse gehört wie das Hauptbild, aber doch eine andere Art wiedergibt » (« que, dans les légendes, il apparaît derrière le nom d'une chose, un signe qui appartient évidemment au même groupe général que son image dans la scène figurée, mais qui représente un objet différent »), mais il ne tente pas de donner une explication du signe  $\text{𓆎}$ . Voici la mienne: J'ai l'impression qu'il s'agit d'un type de nacelle qui était devenu rare en Égypte à l'époque de la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie<sup>(1)</sup>, mais dont le signe hiéroglyphique s'était maintenu<sup>(1)</sup>. En admettant ceci, on comprendrait pourquoi le mot *hnk* « nacelle » est déterminé dans la légende par un radeau qui n'était plus en usage tandis que les barques représentées dans la scène même correspondent à celles que nous connaissons par de nombreuses autres représentations.

Le signe  $\text{𓆎}$  ressemble à certaines nacelles actuellement encore utilisées au Soudan fabriquées principalement avec les branches d'*Eschynomene Elaphroxylon* (*Herminiera*), l'Ambatch soudanais, célèbre à cause de son bois très léger (« bois de liège »). Parmi les nombreuses représentations modernes de ces primitives et très légères embarcations que j'ai réunies<sup>(2)</sup>, il

<sup>(1)</sup> On se servait surtout de cette espèce de nacelle pour la chasse de l'Hippopotame (exemples : BOREUX, *Études de nautique*, op. cit., p. 199-200, fig. 53. JÉQUIER, *Monum. de Pépi II*, t. III, 1940, pl. 32, fin de la VI<sup>e</sup> dyn.; DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*, 1913, tombe de Daga, pl. XXXVII et surtout pl. XLI, fin de la XI<sup>e</sup> dyn.; WRZINSKI, *Atlas*, I, pl. 77, tombe d'Amenemhêt, époque de Thoutmès III; WRZINSKI, *Atlas*, I, pl. 343, tombe de Senemioh, époque de Thoutmès III; *Le Musée Égyptien*, t. II, 1907, pl. XXXVII), mais j'ai bien l'impression que ces scènes de chasse représentées sur les monuments de l'Ancien, du Moyen et

du Nouvel Empire proviennent en dernier lieu toutes d'un même prototype très ancien et de signification religieuse (cf. mon article intitulé : *Un bas-relief de Karnak dessiné par Prisse d'Avennes, perdu plus tard et retrouvé au printemps 1943*, dans les *Annales du Service*, t. XLII.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. par exemple CARTER, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, t. III, 1933, p. 206, pl. LXII B, éd. allemande, 1934, p. 218, pl. 60 B; J. H. BREASTED, *The earliest Boats on the Nile*, dans *Journ. Egypt. Archaeol.*, t. IV, 1917, p. 174-176, pls. XXXIII-XXXIV et p. 255, pl. LIV (« A supplementary note by the editor »); W. R. DAWSON, *Note on the Egyptian Papyrus Boat*, dans *Journ.*

y en a quelques-unes qui sont fort semblables à l'hiéroglyphe  $\text{𓆎}$ . La figure 50 est empruntée à un ouvrage de date assez récente<sup>(1)</sup> et représente deux Dinka dans un radeau d'Ambatch. Une description très claire de ces barques ou radeaux a été donnée, il y a quatre-vingts ans, par le fameux voyageur naturaliste M. Theodor von Heuglin<sup>(2)</sup> : « Der Platz (il s'agit de la région où le Sobat se jette dans le Nil Blanc) soll von Dinkafischern häufig besucht werden und im benachbarten Schilf lagen mehrere ihrer aus Ambadjstengeln bestehenden, *Torör* d. i. Floss, genannten Boote. Diese einfachen Fahrzeuge sind 2-3 Ellen lang auf eine Elle Breite, ziemlich flach und eigentlich ohne Bord, also eher Flösse als Barken, doch von Form der letzteren mit *Schnabel und stumpfem Hinterteil*<sup>(3)</sup>. Das Material ist bündelweise durch Schnüre sehr fest aneinander gereiht. Die *Torör* tragen nicht mehr als eine, höchstens zwei Personen, die auf der kaum etwas hohlen Oberfläche sitzen; zur *Bewegung bedient man sich eines kleinen Doppelruders*<sup>(3,4)</sup>. » Mon vénéré maître, l'illustre G. Schweinfurth, dans son célèbre livre *Au cœur de l'Afrique*, a donné de ces embarcations la description suivante qu'il a fait accompagner de croquis aussi clairs qu'instructifs (figs. 51<sup>(5)</sup> et 52<sup>(6)</sup> du présent article) : « ... nous trouvâmes

*Egypt. Archaeol.*, t. X, 1924, p. 46, pl. X 2; G. D. HORNBLLOWER, *Reed-floats in modern Egypt*, dans *Journ. Egypt. Archaeol.*, t. XVII, 1931, p. 53-54; Frank SAVILE, *The River of the Giraffe*, 1925, planches opposées aux pages 38 et 106 (*Dinka Hippo hunters, A Dinka Ambatch*);

جاء الله طانيوس الصيد في غابات السودان .  
١٩٤٠ . صفحة ١٢٢ شكل ٢٨

Voir également H. v. SCHRÖTTER, *Tagebuch einer Jagdreise an den oberen Nil*, 1914, p. 54, et H. A. WINKLER, *Völker- und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde*, 1937, p. 24, note 2 (bibliographie).

<sup>(1)</sup> A. Radclyffe DUGMORE, *Frieden im Sudan*, 1926, photographie opposée à

la page 65 (je n'ai pas vu d'édition anglaise de ce voyage, mais il en existe une sans doute).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Reise in das Gebiet des Weissen Nil und seiner westlichen Zuflüsse in den Jahren 1862-1864*, Leipzig und Heidelberg 1869, p. 98 (3 février 1863).

<sup>(3)</sup> Italiques de l'auteur de l'article.







<sup>(4)</sup> M. Th. v. HEUGLIN, *Op. cit.*, p. 85, mentionne également de petites barques fabriquées avec du Papyrus : « Viele Dinka sind Fischer, sie bedienen sich kleiner Piroguen, aus Papyrusbündeln recht niedlich zusammengebunden. »

<sup>(5)</sup> D'après l'édition française, 1875, t. I, figure de la page 68.

<sup>(6)</sup> D'après l'édition allemande, 1922 (*Im Herzen von Afrika*), figure de la page 37.

une quantité de Chillouks, se livrant à la pêche, montés sur leurs canots d'ambatch, et fendant l'onde presque aussi vite que le poisson lui-même. Cette vitesse ne les empêchait pas de se mouvoir et de marcher sur leur esquif, en se balançant, à la façon des canards.

« Si légers sont leurs batelets, où cependant peuvent tenir trois personnes, qu'un seul homme en porte trois sur ses épaules. Quelques douzaines de tiges d'ambatch, d'environ trois ans, forment ces canots, dont la construction est des plus simples. A une hauteur de six pieds, les tiges de l'*Herminiera* s'amincissent rapidement, jusqu'à finir en pointe; de telle sorte que le faisceau n'a besoin que d'être lié aux deux extrémités, pour présenter une courbe qui ferait honneur à une gondole. Il faut une longue pratique pour se servir habilement de ces canots, où le moindre dérangement d'équilibre peut vous faire chavirer. Toutefois, ils m'ont rendu grand service en me donnant le moyen de gagner la rive à pied sec ou d'herboriser parmi les buissons flottants<sup>(1)</sup>. »

La ressemblance entre l'hiéroglyphe  et les embarcations des Dinka et Shillouk (figs. 50, 51 et 52) et d'autres peuplades africaines est en effet frappante, de même que la description qu'ont donnée Schäfer de l'hiéroglyphe  (cf. *supra*, p. 183), et v. Heuglin et Schweinfurth de ces barques modernes (figs. 50, 51 et 52). La seule différence consiste dans la forme de la proue des barques modernes, moins ramenée en arrière que celle de l'hiéroglyphe . Cette différence est naturellement motivée par la matière avec laquelle sont fabriquées les deux nacelles : les tiges de Papyrus, étant plus flexibles que celles d'Ambatch, permettent d'exécuter une courbe plus accusée que les dernières (on comparera l'hiéroglyphe  aux figures 50, 51 et 52). Le fait que les nacelles anciennes en question sont plus grandes que les modernes est ici, où nous nous occupons uniquement de l'interprétation de leur forme, sans aucune importance. Mais en admettant que l'hiéroglyphe  soit une sorte de prototype des embarcations modernes reproduites aux figures 50, 51 et 52, on se demanderait certainement quelle serait dans ce cas-là la signification de la croix qui semble être placée sur la nacelle  ou sortir d'elle. Une explication, proposable à mon avis, mais loin d'être certaine, serait de

<sup>(1)</sup> *Au cœur de l'Afrique* (trad. par M<sup>me</sup> H. Loreau), 1875, t. I, p. 69.




Fig. 50. — Deux Dinka dans une nacelle d'Ambatch, d'après une photographie d'A. R. Dugmore.



Fig. 51. — Des Shillouk montés sur leur nacelle d'Ambatch, d'après G. Schweinfurth.



Fig. 52. — Nacelle d'Ambatch, d'après G. Schweinfurth.

considérer cette croix comme la représentation de la rame (une seule!)<sup>(1)</sup> employée par l'un des deux Dinka de la figure 50, car les mouvements de cette rame provoquent nécessairement l'illusion qu'il s'agit de deux rames. L'écriture hiéroglyphique comporte un bon nombre de signes qui ne peuvent être interprétés que de la même manière et dont voici plusieurs exemples :  : déterminatif de *mtwn* «foncer la tête en avant», «lieu de bataille»<sup>(2)</sup>. L'hiéroglyphe représente un taureau qui fait jaillir sous son sabot un jet de sable. Ce sable ne peut être perçu au même moment sur toute sa trajectoire telle qu'elle est représentée. Il en est de même

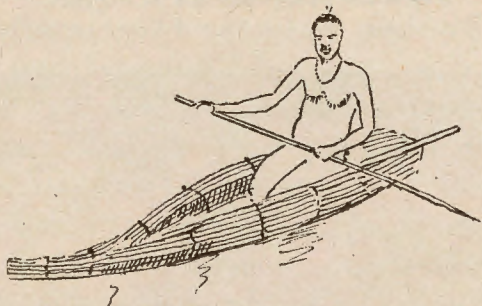








Fig. 53.

pour : , ,  déterminatif de *nby* «nager»,  déterminatif de *wšr* et *wš:w* montrant un canard qui après avoir plongé dans l'eau se débarrasse des gouttes d'eau restées sur sa tête. Cette interprétation semblerait confirmée par le fait que *d:j*  «traverser le fleuve» est déterminé très souvent, à partir du Moyen Empire, par le signe, non encore expliqué, des deux bâtons croisés  $\times$  au lieu du bateau , des jambes  $\wedge$  et d'autres déterminatifs<sup>(3)</sup>. On aurait certainement préféré trouver déjà dans les textes des Pyramides un exemple où *d:j* «traverser le fleuve» serait déterminé par les deux bâtons croisés  $\times$ , mais comme ce


<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 185 (passage cité d'après v. Heuglin).

<sup>(2)</sup> D'après PETRIE, *Medum*, 1892, pl. XIX. Cf. également SETHE und GENOSSEN, *Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte*, dans *Zeitschr. f.*

*äg. Spr.*, p. 57, tiré à part, 1925, p. 38 (bibliographie); ROWE, *Some remarks on a Collection of Hieroglyphs*, etc., dans *Annales*, t. XLI, 1942, p. 342-343 (bibliographie).



<sup>(3)</sup> *Wörterbuch*, t. V, p. 511.


déterminatif se rencontre dans le mot *d:j* à partir du Moyen Empire, on peut, sans être trop imprudent, conclure que le déterminatif  $\times$  dans *d:j* doit être plus ancien car en général le Moyen Empire<sup>(1)</sup> tire ses sources des plus lointaines traditions. Mais ne perdons pas de vue qu'une explication suffisante du sens primitif de l'hiéroglyphe des deux bâtons croisés  $\times$  nous échappe toujours.

Mon interprétation hypothétique de la croix  $\times$  de l'hiéroglyphe  sera certainement mise en doute par nombre d'égyptologues qui préféreraient peut-être prendre la croix  $\times$  pour deux rames placées dans la nacelle. La figure 53<sup>(2)</sup> montre un Shillouk qui tient dans la main droite une rame dont il se sert tandis qu'on voit une deuxième placée dans la nacelle.

L. KEIMER.

Le Caire, 23 février 1943.

<sup>(1)</sup> En lisant le passage de B. GRDSELOFF, *Deux notes de lexicographie*, dans *Annales*, t. XXXIX, 1939, p. 399, note 2 : «... la locution verbale   $\times$   'approcher la bouche' (d'un met), en usage dès l'époque des Pyramides... », on pourrait croire que *d:j*, déterminé par la croix  $\times$  se rencontrerait déjà à l'époque des Pyramides. Mais le *Wörterbuch* de Berlin, t. V, p. 513, dernier mot, dit clairement que

le mot est déterminé dans les textes des Pyramides par le bateau  et plus tard par la croix  $\times$ . — L'abréviation  $\times$ ,  $\times$ ,  $\times$  *šw* : «passer» se rencontre également depuis le Moyen Empire, cf. *Wörterbuch*, t. IV, p. 60.

<sup>(2)</sup> Croquis d'après une photographie contenue dans l'ouvrage d'Abel CHAPMAN, *Savage Sudan. Its Wild Tribes, Big-game and Bird-life*, 1921, planche opposée à la page 248, figure droite.

NOTES ON THE ALPHABETIC SIGNS  
EMPLOYED  
IN THE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS  
OF THE TEMPLE OF EDFU

BY

H. W. FAIRMAN



WITH AN APPENDIX

BY

BERNHARD GRDSELOFF

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## APPENDIX.

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NOTES ON THE ALPHABETIC SIGNS  
EMPLOYED  
IN THE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS  
OF THE TEMPLE OF EDFU

The following remarks are offered as a preliminary to a more detailed study of Ptolemaic signs and the Ptolemaic system of writing on which the writer has been engaged for some years past and which will take some time yet to complete. Nevertheless, it has been felt that a preliminary presentation and discussion of a limited class of signs may not come amiss, since it may serve to illustrate some of the principles which governed the selection of Ptolemaic signs and to pave the way for the fuller study.

A.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

(a) *Scope of the present paper.* — The present paper has a strictly limited object and scope. Its interest is exclusively in the signs employed in the hieroglyphic texts of the Ptolemaic Temple of Edfu and is based on the complete publication of that temple initiated by Rochemonteix and so successfully completed by Chassinat<sup>(1)</sup>. The examples quoted, however, are drawn almost exclusively from volumes III-VIII of the

<sup>(1)</sup> ROCHEMONTEIX-CHASSINAT, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, CHASSINAT, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, II-VIII (text), IX-XIV (plates) and CHASSINAT, *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*. In order to avoid wearisome repetition in this paper, the quotations from these volumes

omit the full title and give volume, page and line only (thus VI, 10, 2 is vol. VI, page 10, second line on the page). Quotations from the Mammisi are also by page and line, with the prefix *Mam.*



postponed to a later occasion since it would have resulted in at least the doubling or trebling of the present paper. Consequently, no attempt has been made here to study the addition or omission of signs, to give details of the interchange of signs or even to discuss the functions and uses of such combinations as  $\text{ⲛ}$ ,  $\text{ⲛ}^{\text{ⲉ}}$ ,  $\text{ⲛ}^{\text{ⲉ}}$  etc., for all these demand separate and somewhat lengthy treatment. The reader is referred to the chapter on « Lautlehre » in Junker's *Grammatik der Denderatexte*<sup>(1)</sup> which, though in need of some modification and capable of considerable amplification, records much that can also be noted at Edfu.

(b) *Transliteration*<sup>(2)</sup>. — From the moment he commences his studies the student of Ptolemaic texts is faced with the urgent and almost insoluble problem of transliteration. Junker in his *Grammatik der Denderatexte* has in general favoured the historical method, transliterating according to the earliest spellings. Spiegelberg, however, in a review of Junker's work argued that since certain Ptolemaic spellings were clearly made in an attempt to indicate the vocalisation, our transliterations should try to show it<sup>(3)</sup>.

There is much to be said for both points of view, but the problem is not a simple one. It must always be borne in mind that our modern system of transliteration is at best an artificial convention adopted by us for our convenience, but it is not Ancient Egyptian. Transliteration should be our servant but never our master, and our aim should be to evolve a system that combines accuracy with simplicity and utility.

It will probably be conceded that the following conclusions may legitimately be drawn from an analysis of Ptolemaic texts :-

(i) The language of the temple inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman Period was to all intents and purposes a dead one, a priestly language,

<sup>(1)</sup> JUNKER, *Grammatik der Denderatexte* §§ 4-47.

<sup>(2)</sup> The following discussion is not intended to offer a complete or final statement on the problems of transliteration. Its sole purpose is to give a

general indication of the principles upon which are based the transliterations given in this paper.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1908, pp. 120, 121.

which in many points of signs, spellings and grammar had little relation to the speech and written language of the time.<sup>(1)</sup>

(ii) Though many later elements have crept in, the main fount of inspiration is to be found in texts of the Old Kingdom, the Pyramid Texts and even earlier, from which are drawn much of the contents of Ptolemaic texts, their vocabulary, the mechanical processes of writing and even some of the grammar.

(iii) Often the priestly editors consciously attempted to reproduce the historical writings of words without necessarily realising the historical and original sound values.

(iv) Often the priestly editors consciously attempted to give a "modern" form to old words by introducing modifications of signs or alternative signs that gave a clue to the current pronunciation.

(v) Often the priestly editors fell between the two stools and were neither entirely historical nor entirely modern.

(vi) That whatever the priestly editors may have been, they were never wholly consistent, even in the same text or sentence, and consistency, therefore, does not seem to have been the final or decisive factor.

(vii) That one phonetic value may be represented by several signs or combinations of signs, and, conversely, that one sign may represent several phonetic values.







If, therefore, we attempt to transliterate as the word is written or to systematise the transliteration so that it indicates what we know or imagine was the contemporary vocalisation, we run two dangers. In the first place, we are going to overburden our dictionaries with many words that are really identical; thus we should have to transliterate and list the verb *snd* "fear" according to the spellings  $\text{ⲛ}$ ,  $\text{ⲛ}^{\text{ⲉ}}$ ,  $\text{ⲛ}^{\text{ⲉ}}$ , and  $\text{ⲛ}^{\text{ⲉ}}$  as *snd*, *snd*, *snty* and *snt*, although in fact only one word is involved.

<sup>(1)</sup> This does not mean that it was entirely dead to the priests. On the contrary, I am convinced that they knew exactly what they were doing and that they had access to sources of vocabulary, texts and grammar that are now lost to us. I have the impression also that at

least some of the texts must have been recited, particularly certain sections of the ritual, the dramatic portion of the Myth of Horus and certain other passages, though doubtless the meaning of the words may have been lost to the ordinary listener.

Secondly, though Coptic may guide us to an accurate transliteration of certain words, the proportion of Egyptian words preserved in Coptic is so small that if we attempt to systematise and apply a rigid system designed to represent contemporary vocalisation, we shall often be compelled to make quite arbitrary selections, which often may be quite inaccurate.

With these facts in mind and realising that in any case we are studying an artificial form of language and writing, the safest course seems to be to adopt a formal method of transliteration. For such a method the soundest procedure surely is to work on historical lines. At the same time, it seems needlessly pedantic to adopt the oldest and most archaic spellings, if such are available, and therefore I propose to transliterate, with such modifications as may seem desirable, in general along the lines followed by Gardiner in his *Egyptian Grammar* and by the *Wörterbuch*.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to transliterate blindly, without trying to give some idea of what signs may have been omitted or inserted in comparison with the normal, historical writings. This will be done by the liberal use of brackets to indicate both missing and superfluous signs<sup>(1)</sup>. Thus when  is omitted in <sup>(2)</sup> "praise" I shall transliterate *sw(:)š*, or if  is added, as in <sup>(3)</sup> "fire, flame", the transliteration *h(:w)l* indicates both the superfluous *h* and the missing *w*, or again in <sup>(4)</sup> "river" the transliteration *i(tw)r* indicates both its nearness to <sup>(6)</sup> "herds" it seems wiser to be conservative and write *i(d)r*<sup>(7)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> The ideal course would be to employ different types of brackets according to whether a sign has been omitted or is superfluous, but this would make our transliterations so complicated and cumbersome that in the interests of simplicity it seems better to employ only rounded brackets ( ). Square brackets [ ] will be employed according to the usual convention whenever signs, originally written by the

scribe, have become damaged or are now lost.



<sup>(2)</sup> III, 123, 10.




<sup>(3)</sup> IV, 166, 14.
















<sup>(4)</sup> V, 125, 1.



<sup>(5)</sup> Or alternatively *iwr (itr)*, which in some respects is preferable.

<sup>(6)</sup> V, 124, 3.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf.  = { ^ for  = "schoenus" (*Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, I, 147).

Similarly, brackets will be employed where other changes are involved, as in <sup>(1)</sup> *w(:)h* "garland". In certain cases, however, a word is spelled habitually in a way which diverges so much from the early writings that it seems incumbent to transliterate as written, the historical form, if desired, being added in brackets; thus  "open" is to be transliterated *ss* since <sup>(2)</sup> and other writings show clearly that by this time the original reading had been entirely lost.

In considering the alphabetic signs, however, we are faced with further difficulties in transliteration and analysis, for there are many cases in which it is difficult to decide whether a sign is uniliteral or biliteral. This difficulty is particularly evident in certain signs in which  is one of the elements and one example will serve to illustrate what is of quite frequent occurrence. , as we shall see, is well authenticated as alphabetic *h* but what is it in <sup>(3)</sup> "hippopotamus" and <sup>(4)</sup> "rejoice"? In the former word the full writing with  is rare but spellings with  are frequent; in the latter word my notes do not contain any example in which  is written but <sup>(5)</sup> occurs occasionally. The answer to this question will depend largely on individual preference; some there will be who will see in  a biliteral sign, while others will be inclined to regard it as monoconsonantal, and a good case could be made out for either view. I shall transliterate, therefore, *h(:)b* and *msh(:)* and leave the question open. I have the personal impression, however, that when such signs as , , , ,  or their variants are the final elements in the spellings of words, they are probably always monoconsonantal, even when apparently followed by the phonetic complement , and that frequently they are likely to be monoconsonantal when they occur at the beginning or in the middle of words<sup>(6)</sup>. When confronted by


<sup>(1)</sup> IV, 19, 6. Here  by dropping  has become the phonogram *wh* and the *h* which is not spelled out is indicated in transliteration by the brackets but see Note IV also.

<sup>(2)</sup> IV, 13, 2.

<sup>(3)</sup> III, 28, 7.

<sup>(4)</sup> V, 31, 2.









<sup>(5)</sup> VII, 174, 15.

<sup>(6)</sup> In such cases  is to be explained as the mechanical reproduction of the old, historical writings and is probably devoid of any phonetic significance, except perhaps in some cases as an indication of a final weak sound (cf. Note LXXVII).



such border line cases I have avoided, as far as possible, using them as evidence for the existence of specific alphabetic values and have drawn examples from words where such doubts do not exist.

(c) *Signs and Forms.* — The signs given in the following list have been taken from the fount in the possession of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, since this is the most complete and flexible selection of Ptolemaic signs at present available.<sup>(1)</sup> Naturally, no fount can be perfect, but the Institut's fount is so rich that its general accuracy can be relied upon.

During the course of the publication of the Temple of Edfu many new signs and alternative forms of existing signs have been added to the fount. Thus, in the early volumes  (113) is employed where the later volumes use  (1190 b) and in the later volumes  (1190) is superseded by  (1205 b). No useful purpose seems to be served in distinguishing between such alternative forms and in fact Chassinat does not do so himself.<sup>(2)</sup> Accordingly, in the majority of cases I have employed the more recent examples of such alternative forms and have substituted them for the earlier forms.  in all cases is certainly more accurate than , but neither  nor  accurately reproduces the sign normally used at Edfu. In the following list of signs alternative forms (abbreviated as "alt.") and variants ("var.") are carefully distinguished, the former being alternative forms used by the modern printer, whereas the latter are genuine variants used by the ancient scribes themselves.

The signs in the following list are arranged in approximately the same relative order that they will occupy in the final List of Ptolemaic Signs, which, however, will employ a different system of numbering. For the sake of convenience they have been numbered serially. In referring to

<sup>(1)</sup> CHASSINAT, *Catalogue des Signes hiéroglyphiques de l'Imprimerie de l'Institut français du Caire*, Le Caire 1907, and *Supplément général au Catalogue des Signes hiéroglyphiques*, Le Caire 1930. See also the *Signes non-catalogués* (casseaux 1-42) of which Nos. 1 b-1440 b approximately are listed in the

*Supplément général*. 1440 b-2240 b approximately are mainly Edfu forms, the remainder (2241 b approximately-2663 b) being in the main Dendera forms.

<sup>(2)</sup> Compare the words quoted in *Mam*, Avant-propos, pp. xii, xiii, xvi, Notes 4-7, with the forms used when they were first printed.

signs included in the present list I have always quoted the serial numbers, preceded by "No." (No. 1, No. 50 etc.) in order to distinguish them from the catalogue numbers which are added in brackets after the first occurrence of each sign studied. It will be noted that in a few cases the catalogue number is followed by "mod." This convention has been adopted to indicate that the exact form of a given sign does not exist in the fount and that the sign printed is a modified form of the sign that most closely resembles it. Roman numerals refer to the Notes in Section C of this paper.

Both in the Sign List itself and in the more detailed discussion in Sections C and D an attempt has been made to discover the origins of the different alphabetic values and to establish the principles on which the ancient scribes worked. It should be borne in mind, however, that in most cases "origin" can only mean "probable origin" and it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise, since we are not ancient Egyptians and have not ourselves written the texts. The scholar today can only collect and classify the data and then make suggestions and inferences which may form, if a sufficient degree of uniformity be forthcoming, the basis of a series of rules which may be put forward with a certain degree of confidence, but absolute, final truth is difficult to obtain in the circumstances.

In searching for the origins of these values I have sought to find explanations that are simple and direct, since that seems logical and in keeping with the Egyptian mentality, and explanations that also leave scope for the minimum of alternative derivations and that do not conflict with what we know of Egyptian and with what emerges from a detailed study of the alphabetic signs as a whole. If, for instance, one method of explaining a given value leaves the possibility of several derivations, while a second method offers only one possible derivation, then the latter is likely to be the correct one. If, furthermore, it is discovered that this method helps to explain a whole series of values, we are justified in suggesting that it formed one of the principles that guided the ancient scribes. Where there is a variety of possible derivations and explanations, no single suggestion can be put forward with confidence and not only have we arrived nowhere but in certain cases doubts must be cast on the

accuracy of our decipherment and methods of procedure. In searching for origins, therefore, we must seek the explanation that is exclusive. It is in this spirit that the suggestions embodied in the following sections of this paper have been put forward, and in the belief that each one affords the best explanation in the present state of our knowledge. I am well aware that some of these suggestions are speculative and I should be the last person to put them forward dogmatically or with any feeling that in all cases they necessarily represent the last word.


B.—A LIST OF SIGNS THAT HAVE ALPHABETIC VALUES.

As a general rule, and in order to save space, only one example of each value is quoted. If a sign is of infrequent use or unique this will be stated; in all other cases it may be assumed that the value given is well authenticated in a number of examples. In the case, however, of the figures of human or divine beings that act as suffix pronouns it will be appreciated that their use is strictly specialised and in the majority of cases the value, though certain, only occurs once or twice; it has been thought superfluous to indicate this in the text since the fact must be sufficiently obvious.

This list does not include those isolated signs that exceptionally acquire a particular value owing to genuine scribal errors that are not habitually repeated. A few errors that are made so frequently as almost to become variants are noted so that the record may be as complete as possible.
















Where a given value is of very common occurrence, such as the "normal" alphabetic signs, no references are given. Similarly the words suggested as the origins of the various values are usually so well-known that specific references have been omitted, for the majority of them will be found in the *Wörterbuch*. References will be quoted for all words that are rare or that are not listed in the *Wörterbuch*.


Certain aspects of the origins<sup>(1)</sup> of the values or the values themselves are discussed in the Notes in Section C, to which the Roman numerals






























<sup>(1)</sup> SETHE, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets* in *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1916, Heft 2, pp. 88-161, and especially pp. 119-124, 151-7. Cf. also YEIVIN, *The Sign  and the true nature of the early alphabets* in *Archiv Orientalni*, 4 (1932), 71-8.



























refer. The general principles that govern the formation or selection of the alphabetic values are analysed and discussed in Section D.




























It need hardly be added that when in the following pages it is said that any one sign had such and such a value, it is not necessarily implied in any way that the sign had that specific phonetic value in the Ptolemaic Period, though often it is clear that a sign is used deliberately to indicate some phonetic change or to give a hint as to the vocalisation. It would be more accurate, perhaps, to describe the following list as a record of the signs that in given circumstances could act as substitutes for signs used in the normal, historical spellings of words.

















1.  (1746 b), alt.  (1).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc., very common. Origin : direct representation by extension of the ideographic principle; see further pp. 288-290 below<sup>(1)</sup>.
2.  (11).  
n : in  <sup>e</sup> (IV, 156, 14) *nw(w)*, "inundation". Origin :   *nn*, "to be tired".
3.  (62).  
f : suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc., common; occasionally *f* in the spelling of words, e. g.   (I, 74, 1 = XI, Pl. 253), *wnf*, "to be glad". Origin :   *fʔi*, "to lift".
4.  (618 b), var. of No. 3.  
f : suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc., common.
5.  (632 b), var. of No. 3.  
f : suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 119, 14); occasionally *f* in the spelling of words, e. g.   (IV, 94, 18), *fk-hri*, name of a foreign land. See Notes I and XXI.













<sup>(1)</sup> This origin is common to all the figures of men, women and deities (except  and its variants) used to represent the suffix pronouns and therefore is not repeated in full in the signs that follow.











6.  (627 b), var. of No. 5.  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 12, 7). See Notes I and XXI.
7.  (30).  
h: in  (III, 32, 13), *Pth*, “Ptah”. Origin:  *hh*, “million”.
8.  (30 + 691), var. of No. 7.  
h: in  (Mam., 57, 7), *thh(wt)*, “joy”. Origin: as No. 7.
9.  (31), var. of No. 7.  
h: in  (IV, 17, 4), *thh(wt)*, “joy”. Origin: as No. 7.
10.  (33 mod.), var. of No. 7.  
h:  (VI, 155, 4), *Pth*, “Ptah”. Origin: as No. 7.
11.  (452 b), var. of No. 7.  
h:  (VI, 272, 10), *Pth*, “Ptah”. Origin: as No. 7.
12.  (38), var. of No. 7.  
h:  (V, 2, 6), *thh(wt)*, “joy”. Origin: as No. 7.
13.  (1539 b), var. of No. 7.  
h: in  (V, 246, 16), *Pth*, “Ptah”. Origin: as No. 7.
14.  (959 b), var. of No. 7.  
h:  (IV, 142, 8), *Pth*, “Ptah”. Origin as No. 7.
15.  (1282 b).  
‘: only in  (V, 113, 2), ‘b’, “boast”. Origin: , ‘,  
“bowl”.
16.  (1190 b), alt.  (1113).  
(a) ‘: in  (IV, 120, 15), ‘*bb ntr*’, “sacred winged beetle”. Origin: , “child” (CHASSINAT, *Le Temple de Dendara*, II, 208, 11). See Note II.  
(b) n: frequently equivalent to  (VI, 57, 10), occasionally =  in the spelling of words, e.g.  (V, 229, 4), *nhn*, “stripling”. Origin:  *nww*, “child”. See Note III.















- (c) h: in  (IV, 392, 1) *wth*, “child”. Origin:  *h*’, “youth”, in Ptolemaic usually written  (VII, 90, 2), with var.  (V, 209, 17),  (III, 320, 1), etc. See Note IV.
- (d) h: in  (V, 223, 6), *hsdb*, “lapis lazuli”. Origin:  *hy*, “child”. Origin suggested by DRIOTON in PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, 104. For  in  and other writings of Khemmis see Note LV.
- (e) s: in  (III, 25, 5), *sh*’, “to raise”. Origin:  (IV, 110, 6), , *s*’, *s*’, “son”.
- (f) i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 255, 4, Harsomtus). Origin: direct representation.
17.  (1719 b), alt.  (1115), var. of No. 16.  
(a) n: in  (IV, 11, 11), *Nnt (nwt)*, “heaven”; frequently equivalent to  (VII, 3, 4). Origin: as No. 16 b.  
(b) h: in  (IV, 155, 3), *h(?)h*, “hasten”. Origin: as No. 16 d.  
(c) s: in  (IV, 19, 9), *sn*, “their” (suff. 3rd. pers. plural). Origin: as No. 16 e.  
(d) m: once only as preposition (IV, 11, 4). Origin:  *imti* “child”, in Ptolemaic  *im* (IV, 113, 13).
18.  (123).  
m: prep. “with”, only example V, 4, 6. Origin:  *imti* “child”.
19.  (1377 b, mod.), var. of No. 18.  
m: prep. “in”, only V, 304, 10; VII, 4, 3. Origin: as No. 18.
20.  (578 b).  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (VI, 5, 6). Origin:  *f*’, “to lift”.
21.  (306), var. of No. 20.  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (III, 203, 8). Origin: as No. 20.





22.  (592 b), var. of No. 20.  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 11, 4). Origin: as No. 20.
23.  (579 b), var. of No. 20.  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 11, 6). Origin: No. 20.
24.  (308).  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (V, 2, 3). Origin: as No. 20.
25.  (1443 b), var. of No. 24.  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (VII, 3, 2) Origin: as No. 20.
26.  (1123 b), var. of No. 24.  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (V, 6, 1). Origin: as No. 20.
27.  (273 b), var. of No. 24.  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (III, 88, 12). Origin: as No. 20.
28.  (334 b).  
f: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (III, 198, 19). Origin: see Note I.
29.  (344).  
(a) i:  —  (III, 111, 3) *bik*, “falcon”. Origin:     
 *w*, “old”. See Note V.  
(b) i: only in  —  (IV, 199, 10) *pdw*, “birds”. Origin:  
phonetic change from the value *i* attested above.
30.  (349).  
i:  —  (VII, 252, 7)  —  (*Mam.* 180, 5), *bik*,  
“falcon”. Origin: confusion with .
31.  (325).  
b: only in   (IV, 11, 3), *bh*, “bear, give birth”. Origin:  
 *b*, “dig up”.
32.  (418 mod.).  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 207, 10, king). Origin: direct  
representation.

33.  (418 mod.), var. of No. 32.  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 207, 10, king). Origin: direct  
representation.
34.  (850 b), alt.  (124).  
(a) i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc.; common. Origin: direct  
representation.  
(b) i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem., only in *Mam.*, 82, 11, and VI,  
54, 8. Origin: error for .
- (c) in the combination    (IV, 153, 17, the four children  
of Horus) which is equivalent to  <sup>nn</sup>, suff. 1st. pers. plural.  
Origin: direct representation.
35.  (852 b), alt.  (127), var. of No. 34.  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc.; common. Origin: direct repre-  
sentation.
36.  (1552 b), alt.  (128).  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VII, 252, 2). Origin: direct  
representation.
37.  (129).  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 144, 15). Origin: direct  
representation.
38.  (130).  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 228, 9). Origin: direct repre-  
sentation.
39.  (144).  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 195, 6). Origin: direct  
representation.
40.  (145).  
i: suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 195, 6). Origin: direct  
representation.

41.  (146).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 195, 7). Origin : direct representation.
42.  (135).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 148, 9). Origin : direct representation.
43.  (136).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (I, 42, 5 = XI, pl. 225). Origin : direct representation.
44.  (137).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 308, 16). Origin : direct representation.
45.  (138).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 142, 5). Origin : direct representation.
46.  (149).  
(a) i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (I, 42, 6 = XI, pl. 225). Origin : direct representation.  
(b) in  (IV, 304, 15, king and queen) is equivalent to  n, suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.
47.  (2446 b).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 260, 4, Osiris). Origin : direct representation.
48.  (156).  
(a) i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (Mam., 192, 4). Origin : direct representation.  
(b) n : in  nt (genitive, masc., IV, 17, 5). Origin :  nt, "red crown". See Note VI.






















49.  (21 a, mod.).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 191, 13). Origin : direct representation.
50.  (21 a).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 78, 14). Origin : direct representation.
51.  (22 a).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 150, 11). Origin : direct representation. See Note VII.
52.  (430).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 112, 16, Atum). Origin : direct representation.
53.  (1225 b).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VI, 65, 6, a demon). Origin : direct representation.
54.  (397).  
(a) i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 142, 3, Osiris). Origin : direct representation.  
(b) on  (III, 353, 13), "Dendera" see Note VIII.
55.  (399).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 277, 7, Osiris). Origin : direct representation.
56.  (692 b, mod.).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 291, 9, Osiris). Origin : direct representation.
57.  (703 b).  
i : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 135, 13, Osiris). Origin : direct representation.


58. <sup>(1)</sup> (415).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 231, 11, Ptah). Origin : direct representation.
59.  (415).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 142, 7, Ptah). Origin : direct representation.
60.  (403).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 237, 4, Amun). Origin : direct representation.
61. <sup>(2)</sup> (411).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 278, 3, Min). Origin : direct representation.
62.  (770 *b*).  
*r* : preposition “to” (only VI, 14, 13). Origin :  *r*?, “snake”.
63.  (817 *b*).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 42, 13; 195, 2). Origin : direct representation.
64.  (824 *b*), alt.  (445).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VI, 84, 3). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) in the group  (IV, 153, 17) equivalent to  *n*, suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.















































<sup>(1)</sup> In the original the sceptre is composite, being made up of ,  and ; see III, 231, note 1. The correct form would appear to be a modification of 

(1394 *b*).

<sup>(2)</sup> The upper part of the sign is destroyed in the original, but there can be little doubt that this form was intended.

65.  (902 *b*), alt.  (447).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VII, 80, 2). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) in the group  (IV, 313, 7, Horus and Hathor), equivalent to  *n*, suff. 1st. pers. plural (dual). Origin : direct representation.
66.  (901 *b*).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 105, 14). Origin : direct representation.
67.  (504 *b*), alt.  (464).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VI, 5, 7). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) in group  (IV, 157, 1, Horus and Hathor), equivalent to  *n*, suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.  
 (c) on \* (III, 353, 13), “Dendera” see Note VIII.
68.  (901 *b*, mod.).  
 in group  (III, 193, 10, Horus and Hathor), equivalent to  *n*, suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.
69. <sup>(1)</sup> (461 mod.).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (I, 327, 15, collated). Origin : direct representation.
70.  (466).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 311, 2, Harsomtus). Origin : direct representation.
71.  (467).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 340, 6, Mentu). Origin : direct representation.

<sup>(1)</sup> The correct form does not exist in the fount. In the original, Horus is wearing the -crown above the horns.

72.  (2437 b).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 261, 4, Horus): Origin : direct representation.
73.  (475).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VI, 84, 5, Thoth). See also Note IX. Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) *i* : in   (IV, 14, 6), *in*, particle. Origin : See Note X.
74.  (477).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VII, 170, 8, Thoth). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) *i* : in   (IV, 19, 5), *in*. Origin : see Note X.
75.  (468).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 143, 3, Khons). Origin : direct representation.
76.  (489).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (VI, 139, 1, Wepwat). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) in the group     (IV, 153, 17, the four children of Horus) equivalent to                                    













87. (1750 b), alt. (521).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (V, 141, 9). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) *t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (III, 290, 15). Origin : see p. 290.  
 (c) in the group (IV, 121, 15, Tenenit and Iunit) equivalent to , suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.
88. (1474 b, mod.), alt. (591 mod.).  
*n* : as genitive (V, 205, 6), prep. “to” (IV, 12, 7) or in the particle in (V, 2, 1). Origin : *nt*, “red crown”, or *Nt*, “Neith”.
89. (1474 b), alt. (591).  
*n* : in (V, 243, 16) *nbn*, “stripling”. Origin : as No. 88.
90. (818 b).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 248, 3, Wadjet). Origin : direct representation.
91. (1456 b).  
*n* : genitive (only V, 304, 6). Origin : as No. 88.
92. (680 b).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 372, 6, queen). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) in the group (IV, 304, 15, king and queen) equivalent to , suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.
93. (772 b).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 171, 12, queen). Origin : direct representation.
94. <sup>(1)</sup> (-).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (I, 33, 8 = XI, Pl. 218, Hathor). Origin : direct representation.


















<sup>(1)</sup> Not in the fount.





























95. (581 mod.).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 147, 14, Nephthys). Origin : direct representation.
96. (581).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 303, 18, Nephthys). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) *t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 303, 9, Nephthys). Origin : direct representation.
97. <sup>(1)</sup> (2502 b, mod.), alt. (604 mod.).  
*n* : in (IV, 14, 7) *in*, particle, and also as genitive (IV, 17, 15) and as formative element in *sdm-n.f.* e.g. (IV, 12, 7) *hws-n.f.* “he built”. Origin : from the phonetic use of *n* as *in* in *ink*, “I”, or *nw*, in *nw*, “of”, if the woman be interpreted as a mere support; or alternatively from , var. *Nwt*, the goddess Nut.
98. <sup>(1)</sup> (2502 b), alt. (604).  
 (a) *n* : in *sdm-n.f.* (III, 104, 15), prep. (IV, 19, 7). Origin : as No. 97.  
 (b) in (IV, 42, 14, Horus and Hathor) equivalent to , suff. 2nd. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.
99. (576 mod.).  
*t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (III, 119, 11, Hathor). Origin : direct representation, see p. 290.
100. (576).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (*Mam.*, 142, 15, Hathor). Origin : direct representation.





























<sup>(1)</sup> Although Chassinat does not use this form at Edfu, it is probably to be preferred to the alternative form.



















































101.  (176 b).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (III, 193, 8, Khentiabtet).  
 See Note XII. Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) *t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (III, 197, 5, Hathor).  
 Origin : direct representation, see p. 290.
102.  (177 b).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 42, 10, Hathor). Origin :  
 direct representation.  
 (b) *t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (VII, 141, 13, Hathor).  
 Origin : direct representation, see p. 290.  
 (c) in group  (III, 193, 10, Horus and Khentiabtet) is  
 equivalent to  suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct  
 representation.
103.  (176 b, mod.).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (I, 37, 14 = XI, Pl. 221, Hathor).  
 Origin : direct representation.
104.  (178 b).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 155, 15, Hathor). Origin :  
 direct representation. See also Note XIII.
105.  (67 b).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 150, 1, Hathor, the normal  
 use; IV, 58, 8, Isis). Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) *t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (III, 17, 17, Hathor).  
 Origin : direct representation, see p. 290.  
 (c) in group  (IV, 157, 1, Horus and Hathor) equivalent to  
, suff. 1st. pers. plural. Origin : direct representation.  
 (d) on  (III, 353, 13) "Dendera" see Note VIII.
106.  (178 b, mod.).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (I, 46, 16 = XI, Pl. 228, Hathor).  
 Origin : direct representation.
107.  (584).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 152, 16, Maat). Origin :  
 direct representation.

108.  (534 b, mod.).  
*t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (VI, 264, 4, Sekhmet). Origin :  
 direct representation, see p. 290.
109.  (534 b).  
 (a) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (VI, 263, 17, Sekhmet).  
 Origin : direct representation.  
 (b) *t* : suff. 2nd. pers. sing. fem. (VI, 264, 1, Sekhmet).  
 Origin : direct representation, see p. 290.
110.  (614 + 691).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 116, 13, Mehit). Origin :  
 direct representation.
111.  (29 b, mod.).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 129, 10, Mihos). Origin :  
 direct representation.
112.  (1014 b).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (IV, 144, 17, Tefnet). Origin :  
 direct representation.
113.  (642)  
 (a) *h* : only in  (IV, 126, 4) *hnbw*, "meadows", but see  
 also Note XIV. Origin :  *hr*, "face".  
 (b) On the writing  as a writing of 'Iwnw, "Heliopolis"  
 (I, 294, 14) and 'Iwnt, "Dendera" (V, 368, 9), see Note XV.
114.  (693).  
 (a) *r* : the usual form, very frequent. Origin :  *r*, "mouth".  
 (b) as evidence for a possible interchange or confusion between  
 and  (indicating the value *l*?) compare   
 (VI, 217, 6), *drd* (? *trd* or *td*) with  (VI, 215, 7)  
*td*, a word of uncertain meaning designating some sort of  
 weapons. Cf. also No. 304 (c) and  (IV, 247, 16),  
 (VII, 226, 2) and many other variants of *tr*.




























115. > (1806).  
*r* : very common. Origin :  drawn from a different aspect.
116.  (956 b).  
*p* : in  (VII, 8, 4) *irp*, “wine”. Origin :      
*psg*, “spit” (?), but see also p. 304 below.
117.  (68 a), var. of No. 116.  
*p* : in  (V, 22, 11) *H'p(i)*, “Nile”. Origin : as No. 116.
118.  (878), var. of No. 117.  
*p* : in  (IV, 280, 10) *irp*, “wine”. Origin : as No. 116.
119.  (878 mod.), var. of No. 116.  
*p* : in  (I, 22, 12, left side = XI, Pl. 215) *pw*. Origin : as No. 116.
120.  (69 a, mod.), var. of No. 116.  
*p* : in  (V, 298, 10) *irp*, “wine”. Origin : as No. 116.
121.  (749), alt.  (1558 b),  (985 b).  
 (a) *k* : in  (I, 41, 7 = XI, Pl. 223) *ktm*, “gold”. Origin :  *k*?, “soul, spirit”.  
 (b) *k* : in  (VIII, 130, 14), *rk*, “complete”. Origin : phonetic change.
122.  (745).  
*n* : usually to express the negative, very rarely in the spelling of words, e. g.  (IV, 303, 1) *tfn*, “be glad”. Origin :  *n*, “not”, cf. GUNN, *Studies*, Chap. 9.
123.  (744), var. of No. 122.  
*n* : as negative,  (III, 1, 14). Origin : as No. 122.
124.  (709 b), var. of No. 122.  
*n* : as negative,  (IV, 42, 4). Origin : as No. 122.































125.  (689 b), var. of No. 122.  
*n* : as negative,  (V, 209, 16). Origin : as No. 122.
126.  (186 b), var. of No. 122.  
*n* : as negative,  (III, 83, 6). Origin : as No. 122.
127.  (701).  
 (a) *c* : very common. Origin :  “arm”.  
 (b) *z* : only in  (IV, 298, 13) *b'z*, “phallus”,  (III, 320, 1, cf. III, 319, 12) *h'z*, “youths”; cf.  (III, 100, 11) *ht nb h'z*, “all the panoply of war”. Origin : see Note IV.  
 (c) *m* : in  (III, 131, 9) *s'm*, “swallow”. See Note XVI. Origin :  *imi*, “give”,  being a substitute for . Hence  almost, if not entirely, ceases to have any phonetic significance in such words as  (IV, 293, 9) *mds*, “slay” cf. IV, 117, 5.
128.  (730).  
 (a) *c* : rare, e. g. in  (V, 253, 6) *dr-*, “long ago”. Origin : by confusion with .  
 (b) *t* : only in  (V, 302, 3) *th*, “drunkenness” and  (V, 301, 6), *Mnt*, a form of Sekhmet. Origin : from  *di*, “give”, by phonetic change.
129.  (737).  
*c* : only in  (IV, 128, 8) *wn*, “rob”. Origin :  “bowl”.
130.  (736).  
*m* : in  (IV, 126, 1) *m(w)t*, “mother”. Origin : see No. 127 (c).
131.  (735).  
*m* : only in  (VIII, 8, 4) *m(w)t*, “mother”. Origin : see No. 127 (c).


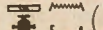
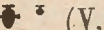

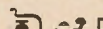



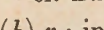


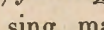








132.  (779).  
 (a) *d* : the usual value, very common. Origin : from the old Semitic word *yad*, “hand” (*Z.Ä.S.*, 50, 91-9).  
 (b) *t* : in  (VI, 55, 6) *tkn*, “approach”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) *t* : in  (II, 31, 6 = XII, Pl. 369) *snt*, “foundation”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (d) *d* : in  (III, 37, 15) *dmd*, “unite”. Origin : phonetic change.
133.  (248 b), infrequent var.  (862).  
*m* : only in  (VI, 297, 17; 304, 11) *tm(?)*, “strong of arm”. See also Note XVII. Origin :  *mt*, “phallus”.
134.  (798).  
 (a) *b* : the normal and common value. Origin :  *bw*, “place”. (cf. SETHE, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, 152).  
 (b) *p* : in  (Mam., 77, 10) *igp*, “storm”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) *m* : only in  (IV, 270, 8) *mt*, “phallus”, but see also Notes XVIII, XXXV and LV. Origin : phonetic change.
135.  (801).  
*b* : infrequent, e.g.  (VII, 292, 10) ‘*b(?)b* (for ‘*bb*), “harpoon”. Origin : false reduplication, see Note XIX.
136.  (169 b).  
*r* : in  (IV, 230, 14) *pr*, “come forth”. Origin :  *r*, “mouth”. See also Note XX.
137.  (914 b).  
*m* : in  (IV, 205, 13) *šm*, “go”. Origin :  *im*, “rib”, cf. No. 166 (a).
138.  (3540 + 825).  
*m* : only noted in  (VIII, 7, 4) *tm*, “turn back”. Origin : as No. 137.



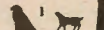
















139.  (850).  
*š* : only noted in  (VI, 222, 1) *mš(?)*, “walk”. Origin :  *šm*, “go”, see also Note XXI.
140.  (912 b).  
*s* : in  (V, 221, 1) *ms*, “bring”. Origin :  *s*, “bolt”, cf.  *si*, “perish”. See Note XXI.
141.  (38 b), var.  (855, the correct form is somewhat different).  
*s* : in  (I, 487, 16 = XII, Pl. 357) *ms*, “bring”. Origin : confusion with  *sbi*, “go, lead”, cf. ERMAN in *Z.Ä.S.*, 48, 31-47.
142.  (847).  
*t* : in  (IV, 364, 2) *bt*, “hasten”. Origin :  *it*, “seize”, cf. No. 294 (a).
143.  (830).  
*n* : only in  (V, 7, 3) *nht*, “might” and  (V, 7, 3) *nš*, “power”. Origin :  *in*, “bring”.
144.  (962).  
*m* : prep. “in” (IV, 17, 12). Origin :  *mrt*, “black cow”. See Note XXII.
145.  (952).  
 (a) *m* : rare in the spelling of words,  (IV, 68, 1) *smn*, “establish”, and usually the preposition *m* (IV, 17, 14). Origin :  *mr*, “bull”. See Note XXII.  
 (b) *k* : in  (VII, 21, 3) *kk(w)* “darkness”. Origin :  *k*, “bull”.  
 (c) *k* : in  (V, 267, 16), *kn*, “valour”. Origin : phonetic change.






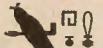

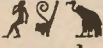


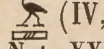









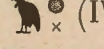


(<sup>1</sup>) MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, IV, 37, 61. — (<sup>2</sup>) NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, p. 37. Cf. NEWBERRY, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 30; II, Pl. 7 for variant spellings.


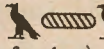







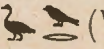


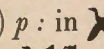

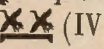
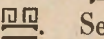
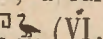


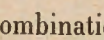



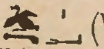
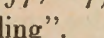

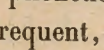
146.  (2108 b), alt.  (974).  
*b* : in  (VII, 5, 3) *gb(t)*, "heaven". Origin :  *b*;  
 "ram".
147.  (937).  
*m* : once only as prep. "in" (IV, 17, 6). Origin : confusion  
 with . See Note XXIII.
148.  (925 b), alt.  (924).  
*r* : in  (IV, 13, 2) *rk*, "time, period". Origin :  
 *rw*, "lion". See also Note XXIV.
149.  (2499 b).  
*r* : in  (VIII, 101, 15) *T3rr*, "Dendera". Origin :  
 confusion with .
150.  (173 b).  
*r* : prep. *r*, "to" (IV, 11, 11). Origin : confusion with .
151.  (933 mod.).  
*n* : as *n*, genitive (III, 105, 18). Origin :  *nt*, "red crown".
152.  (915).  
*m* : prep. *m* (VI, 281, 14). Origin :  *m3i*, "lion".
153.  (914).  
*m* : prep. *m* (VIII, 93, 6). Origin :  *m3w*, "cat", but  
 see Note XXV.
154.  (84 a).  
 (a) *i* : in  (III, 158, 16) *itn*, "sun's disk". See also  
 Note XXVI. Origin : rebus from  *i*, "Thoth"; see Note  
 XXVII. Cf. Note X.  
 (b) *s* : in  (VI, 1, 16) *shd*, "illumine". Origin :   
 (VI, 144, 1) *s(i)*; an epithet of Thoth (cf. BOYLAN, *Thoth*, 59,  
 90, 102-6, 195, 215). See Note XXVIII.  
 (c) *d* : in  (VII, 6, 2) *d(3)3sw*, divine beings; frequently  
 equivalent to *d(d)*, "say" (VI, 111, 3). Origin : see  
 Note XXIX.




























155.  (85 a, mod.).  
*n* : as genitive, only noted in V, 312, 2. Origin : from the  
 phonetic value *in* in  *ink*, "I", or *nv* in  *nv*, "of".
156.  (513 b), alt.  (906).  
*i* :  (VII, 8, 4) *irp*, "wine". Origin : as No. 154 a.  
 This sign is used much less frequently than No. 154.
157.  (1038).  
*h* : only noted in  (V, 301, 6) *bhn*, "slay", but see Note  
 XXX. Origin :  *h3t*, "front".
158.  (3032).  
*h* : in  (VII, 128, 11) *h'w*, "flesh", infrequent. Origin :  
 *h3t*, "front".
159.  (1091).  
*h* : in  (VI, 5, 8) *gmh*, "behold". Origin : cf.   
*hw*, "food". See Additional Note 2 on p. 284.
160.  (1107). var.  (1108).  
*'* : in  (V, 304, 12) *'s*, "cedar". Origin : substitute for  
, "arm", cf. DRIOTON, *L'Écriture énigmatique* in PIANKOFF,  
*Le livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, p. 100 and Note XXXI below.
161.  (1117).  
*h* : only in  (III, 43, 15) *h(y)t*, "pillar, column". Origin :  
 error for  or related sign.
162.  (981).  
*m* : only in  (III, 211, 8) *m3r*, "evening". Origin :  
 *im(i)*, "in", see Note XXXII.
163.  (502 b), alt.  (859).  
 (a) *h* : the normal value common. Origin :  *ht*, "belly, body".  
 (b) *h* : in  (V, 305, 3) *hh*, "throat". Origin : phonetic  
 change.  
 (c) *h* : in  (I, 327, 15, collated) *h(w)t-nt*, "temple".  
 Origin : phonetic change.




164.  (3322).  
 (a) *b*: infrequent, noted only in  (VII, 8, 4) *šbn*, “mix, mingle”, and  (V, 75, 6) *bi*, “copper”. Origin:  *ib*, “heart”.  
 (b) *p*: in  (V, 251, 10) *tpht*, “cavern”. Origin: phonetic change. See Note XXXIII.
165.  (3162).  
*f*: suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. (V, 7, 3; 312, 2). Origin: uncertain, see Note XXXIV.
166.  (3540).  
 (a) *m*: the normal value, common. Origin:  *im*, “rib”, cf. *Z.Ä.S.*, 64, 9-12.  
 (b) *n*: in  (IV, 344, 2) *ins*, “red cloth”. Origin: phonetic change.  
 (c) *b*: in  (IV, 30, 9) *hb(t)*, “place of slaughter”. Origin: phonetic change: see also Note XXXV.
167. *e* (1149), var. *ɣ* (1150); alt. *ε* (1148) and *ɣ* (158 b).  
 (a) *f*: in  (III, 7, 2) *hf*, “see” common as suff. 3rd. pers. sing. masc. Origin:  *iwf*, “flesh”, see Note XXXVI.  
 (b) *w*: in  (V, 112, 12) *w*, “district”. Origin: confusion with *e*, see Note XXXVI.
168.  (1162).  
 (a) *ʒ*: the normal value, common. Origin:  *ʒ*, “vulture”.  
 (b) *i*:  (VI, 11, 8) *bik*, “falcon”. Origin: phonetic change.  
 (c) *ʿ*: rare, in  (III, 154, 5) *ʒhʿ*, “inscribe”. Origin: phonetic change, cf. Note IV.
169.  (337 b), var. of No. 168.  
*ʒ*: only occurs apparently in the particle  (III 355, 3; 332, 3), usually written  (VI, 121, 7). Origin: as No. 168 (a).










170.  (1205 b), alt.  (1190).  
 (a) *b*:  (V, 4, 2) *bhn*, “pylon”. Origin:  *bʒ*, “soul”, see Note XXXVII.  
 (b) *p*: in  (VIII, 110, 15; cf. IV, 14, 4; VII, 5, 7) *hrw pn nfr* “this happy day”. See Note XXXVIII. Origin: phonetic change.
171.  (1920 b).  
*b*: in  (VII, 10, 7) *B*, an epithet of Seth;  (VII, 24, 12) *b(ʒ)k* “falcon”. Origin:  *bʒ*, “soul”, see Note XXXVII.
172.  (1296 b).  
*n*: negative, , sole example VIII, 5, 7. Origin:  *ntr*, “god”, or *nb*, “lord”. See Note XXXIX.
173.  (1266).  
 (a) *m*: the normal value, common. Origin: from a word for “owl” surviving in *MOYΛΛX*, of which the Demotic form *mwld*, would appear to suggest an original *ʒm* (see *SETHE, Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, 153).  
 (b) *n*: as preposition (VII, 192, 16). Origin: phonetic change.
174.  (1270).  
*m*: in  (II, 32, 2 = XII, Pl. 374) *mš*, “slay”. Origin:  *imš*, “give”, cf. No. 127 (c).
175.  (1269).  
 (a) *m*: in  (VII, 4, 3) *dʒmw*, “generations”. Origin: as No. 173 (a), but cf. Note XL.  
 (b) for the use of this sign as *nm*, (*n*)*m*, in such words as  (IV, 138, 11) *hnmty* (*h(n)mty*), “nostrils” see Note XL.






176.  (1272 b), var.  (1450).  
 (a) *m*: in  (V, 48, 3) *ksm*, "violate, attack". Origin: derived from hieratic form of No. 173.  
 (b) *n*: perhaps in  (VI, 68, 2) *inb* (?), "wall". Origin: phonetic change. But see Additional Note 5 on p. 286.
177.  (1267 b).  
*m*: in  (V, 132, 8) *mhn*, "milk-jug". Origin: see No. 174.
178.  (1250).  
*m*: in  (VIII, 73, 2) *hnm*, "jasper". Origin:  *mwt*, "mother". See Note XLI.
179.  (1306).  
*i*: not common; in  (IV, 14, 7) *in*, particle. Origin:  *i*, "Thoth". See Note XXVII.
180.  (1330).  
*b*: in  (VIII, 95, 10) *bhntw*, "pylons". Origin:  *b*<sup>1</sup>, "soul".
181.  (47 b).  
*b*: in  (IV, 298, 3) *b'h*, "flood". Origin: as No. 180, see Note XLII.
182.  (1351).  
*b*: in  (V, 223, 6) *b(i)kt*, "female falcon". Origin: as No. 180, see Note XLII.
183.  (21 b).  
 (a) *t*: in  (IV, 17, 9) *th*, "be drunk". Origin: var. of  *tyw*.  
 (b) *t*: only in  (IV, 155, 3) *thn*, "faience". Origin: phonetic change.









184.  (46 b), var. of No. 181.  
*t*: in  (IV, 67, 17) *h'k-ti*, "verdant" (Old Perfective),  being for the more usual  (cf. IV, 125, 4, where  is used similarly). Origin: as No. 183 (a).
185.  (1377).  
 (a) *w*: apparently only in spellings of the name of Osiris,  (III, 26, 7) *ws(i)r*. Origin: unknown. See Note XLIII.  
 (b) *r*: in  (IV, 19, 6) *irp*, "wine". Origin:  *r*<sup>3</sup>, "goose".  
 (c) *s*: in  (VIII, 48, 3) *swr*, "make great". Origin:  *s*, "goose".
186.  (1362).  
 (a) *p*: in  (VI, 202, 2) *Pwnt* "Punt". Origin: cf.  *p*<sup>3</sup>, "fly".  
 (b) *h*: in  (IV, 162, 4) *hy*, "heaven", a rare writing of . See also Note XLIV. Origin:  (VI, 237, 2 and often) *hyw* (*h'yw*), "birds".
187.  (1283).  
 (a) *w*: the normal value, common. Origin: unknown.  
 (b) in combination with  in  reads *r* (ε), a common use. Origin: phonetic change.
188.  (1529 b), var.  (1202 b),  (1373).  
 (a) *t*: in  (VI, 297, 17) *tm(i)-t*, "strong of arm". Origin:  *t*<sup>3</sup>, "fledgling".  
 (b) *t*: in  (V, 233, 15) *b'tkk*, "aggressive Ba". Origin: phonetic change.  
 (c) *d*: infrequent, in  (V, 299, 15) *p(i) 'dr*, an epithet of Amun. Origin: phonetic change.














189.  (1465), var.  (1464).
- (a) š : in  (III, 85, 2) *šym(t)* (old *šmyt*), “corridor”. See also Note XLV. Origin :  *šwt*, “feather”.
  - (b) h : in  (V, 242, 2) *ht*, “fire”. Origin : phonetic change.
  - (c) r : only noted in  (V, 217, 18) *r(w)d*, “flourish” and  (V, 217, 18) *rk*, “time, period”. Origin : see Note XLVI.
  - (d) ˆ : once only in  (VI, 77, 10) *py*, “flutter, hop” (?). Origin : substitute for  ˆ, “arm”, see Note XLVII.
  - (e) i : only in  (VII, 83, 9) *mi*, “like” and  (VI, 108, 4) *mi išš n(t) šw*, “like him whom Shu vomited”. Origin : error for .
















190.  (1045 b).  
 n : for negative,  (V, 146, 11). Origin : confusion with , see Note XLVIII.

















191.  (1467).
- (a) s : in  (IV, 13, 4) *psd*, “shine”. Origin : ,  *s*ˆ, “son”, see Note XLIX.
  - (b) h : once only in  (IV, 144, 14) *hkn*, “praise”. Origin : error for .
























192.  (1508).
- (a) f : the normal value, common. Origin : see Mr. Grdseloff’s Appendix. p. 314.
  - (b) t : only in  (VI, 112, 5) *hftyw*, “enemies”. Origin :  (i)t, “father”, see Mr. Grdseloff’s Appendix. pp. 315–318.


























193.  (1522).
- (a) d : the normal value, common. Origin :  *wˆdt*, “snake”.
  - (b) d : in  (VI, 57, 9) *dmd*, “unite”. Origin : phonetic change.
  - (c) t : only noted in  (IV, 14, 5) *snt*, “foundation”. Origin : phonetic change.

- (d) t : in  (IV, 113, 17) *itm*, “Atum”. Origin : phonetic change.
- (e) s : apparently restricted to the not uncommon writings  (I, 42, 11 = XI, Pl. 225) *dsr* “holy, private”, and *dsf* “himself” (I, 412, 5). Origin :  (VII, 205, 10) *s*ˆ, “snake”, see Note L.
- (f) r : apparently restricted to *dsr* (see above) and to writings such as  (VI, 279, 6) *tˆ dr.f* (for *tˆ r-dr.f*), “the whole earth”. Origin :  *r*ˆ, “snake”.
- (g) f : apparently restricted to writings of  (VI, 279, 6) *tˆ dr.f*, “the whole earth”,  (I, 412, 5) *dsf*, “himself”. Origin : variant of .



194.  (535 b), var.  (1971 b),  (2111 b),  (546 b);  
 is the form most frequently used.
- (a) r : in  (IV, 19, 2) *irt(t)*, “milk”. Origin :  *r*ˆ, “snake”.
  - (b) s : only in  (VIII, 107, 14) *ws(i)r*, “Osiris”. Origin :  *s*ˆ, “snake”, see Note L.



195.  (1535).
- (a) k : very common as suff. 2nd. pers. sing. masc., and in the spelling of words, e. g.  (VIII, 140, 9) *hkn*, “unguent”. Origin :  *kt*, “uraeus”.
  - (b) g : in  (III, 191, 5) *dg*, “see”. Origin : phonetic change.
  - (c) r : once only in  (III, 158, 16) *rmn*, “raise”. Origin : see Note LI.
  - (d) ˆ : only certain in  (IV, 6, 8) *h*ˆ, “coronation festival” (see *Liv. Annals*, 25, 137) but possibly also in  (III, 207, 13) where the reading ˆ, “moon” is perhaps to be preferred to *iˆbi*. For two clear examples of this usage at Dendera cf. DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, XVII, 11. 12. Origin : see Note LII.
  - (e)  is sometimes used wrongly for  in  (V, 202, 2) *wmm*, “eat”, through misunderstanding of the origin.






196.  (2015 b).  
*n*: once only as equivalent of  (VII, 4, 3). Origin: uncertain, see Note LIII.
197.  (608 b).  
*n*: once as equivalent of negative  (IV, 11, 11). Origin: uncertain, see Note LIII.
198.  (945 b).  
 (a) *h*: in  (VI, 21, 4) *hs(i)*, "base". Origin:  *h:t*, "oxyrhynchus".  
 (b) *h*: rare, in  |  (VI, 275, 14) *shbn hrw*, "disprove, find guilty" (the opposite of  *sm:t hrw*, "justify"). Origin: phonetic change.
199.  (911 b).  
*t*: in  (V, 4, 4) *htm*, "seal". Origin:  *t*, "earth", see Note LIV.
200.  (1603).  
 For a possible alphabetic use of this sign see Note LV.
201.  (281 b).  
*h*: in  (III, 298, 14) *(i)ht nb*, "everything". Origin: phonetic *h*: in  *h:(w)t*, "altar", see Note LVI.
202.  (1657).  
*m*: often as prep. *m* (V, 4, 3). Origin:  *im*, "date-palm".
203.  (1752).  
 For the use of this sign in  (VI, 298, 9) *hb (:h-bit)*, "Khemmis", see Note LV.
204.  (1665).  
*m*: occasionally as prep. *m* (III, 124, 12). Origin:  *m:w*, "staff".








205.  (1728).  
*š*: in  (III, 137, 10) *šm(w)*, "fire". Origin:  *š*: "meadow".
206.  (1851 b), var. of No. 205.  
*š*: in  (VII, 167, 16) *šš*, epithet of Seth. Origin: as No. 205.
207.  (1331 b), var. of No. 205.  
*š*: in  (V, 208, 17) *išš*, "vomit". Origin: as No. 205.
208.  (151 a), var.  (1072 b).  
 (a) *n*: noted once only as genitive (V, 256, 6); occurs occasionally as negative (V, 43, 2). Origin: see Note LVII.  
 (b) *i*: once only in  (IV, 199, 7) *itn*, "sun's disk". Origin: error for .
209.  (1784), var.  (506 b).  
 (a) *h*: in  (V, 149, 5) *hnm*, "odour". Origin:  *h:w*, "leaves".  
 (b) *h*: in  (IV, 209, 10) *hms*, "bow down". Origin: phonetic change.
210.  (587 b), var. of No. 209.  
 (a) *h*: in  (IV, 11, 4) *hyt*, "heaven". Origin: as No. 209 a.  
 (b) *h*: only in  (IV, 11, 3) *bh*, "bear, give birth". Origin: as No. 209 b.
211.  (1210 b), var.  (1628 b).  
*h*: in  (V, 219, 14) *nbb*, "lotus". Origin: as head of  same origin as No. 209 a.
212.  (493 b), var. of No. 211.  
*h*: in  (V, 213, 9) *msb(š)*, "be glad". Origin: as No. 211.









213.  (155 a), var. of No. 211.  
h: in  (VII, 205, 3) *h(i)w(t)*, "altar". Origin: as No. 211.



















214.  (1667 b), var. of No. 211.  
k: only in  (VI, 222, 1. 7) *k(i)p*, "enemy" (as an epithet of Seth, the "enemy" of Osiris). Origin: phonetic change, see Note LVIII.



215.  (3050).  
t: only in  (V, 252, 17), var.  (VI, 254, 1) *mst(i)*, "descendant, image". Origin: by phonetic change from  *w:d*, "papyrus", cf.  (VII, 321, 14) *p:wtyw* *tp(yw)*, "primeval ones".






216.  (1718).  
(a) h: in  (III, 180, 9) *tpht*, "cavern". Origin: cf.  var.  *h(i)*, "would that", see GARDINER, *Grammar*, Sign list M. 16.  
(b) h: in  (III, 135, 5) *wrh* (*w:h*), "be green". Origin:  *h(i)*, "be green".  
(c) For the use of this sign in  (III, 193, 3) "Khemmis", see Note LV.





217.  (1720).  
(a) h: in  (IV, 200, 11) *hbs*, "clothe". Origin: substitute for No. 216.  
(b) For the use of this sign in  (V, 209, 9) "Khemmis", see Note LV.





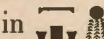



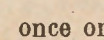

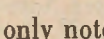


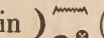





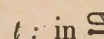

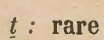
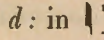
218.  (1721).  
(a) h: only noted in  (V, 25, 14) *idh*, "swamps of the Delta". Origin: as No. 216 a, as variant of No. 216.  
(b) For the use of this sign in  (VI, 238, 5) "Khemmis", see Note LV.





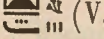

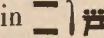


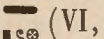




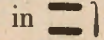

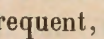

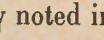


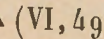


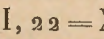

219.  (1799).  
(a) i: the normal value, very common. Hence frequently used as suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (III, 26, 17) and not infrequently as suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (III, 18, 9). Origin:  *i*, "reeds".  
(b) i: in  (III, 10, 19) "Thoth", through misunderstanding of hieratic form of , see Notes X and XXVII.  
(c) i: in  (V, 27, 2) *m*, "grasp". Origin: phonetic change.  
(d) r: in combination with  or ,  is equivalent to r () (VIII, 18, 4) but in vol. VIII  alone is frequently equivalent to r (VIII, 54, 2); hence  replaces r in  (III, 91, 1) *np(r)*, "corn". Origin: phonetic change.  
(e) i: regularly replaces  in  (IV, 364, 2) *nk*, "come, lead"; noted once in  (II, 219, 1 = XII, Pl. 389) *ntyw*, "myrrh", which, however, may be an error for . Origin: phonetic change.  
(f) On the supposed value h for this sign see Note LIX.  
(g) b: once only in  (IV, 183, 9) *b'r* (cf. var. IV, 183, 10) "pool of Baal". Origin: error for .





























220.  (440 b).  
w: only in spellings of the name of Osiris  (IV, 291, 10) *ws(i)r*. Origin: unknown but see Note LX.




221.  (491 a), var.  (1685).  
When doubled  reads *nn* in  (IV, 39, 11) *snn*, "image".  
Origin:  *nn*, "rushes", see Note LXI.




































222.  (1686).  
(a) s: in  (VIII, 146, 3) *ts*, "sit". Origin:  *swt*, "the *swt*-plant".  
(b) n: when doubled reads *nn* in  (III, 34, 11) *nn(i)*, "be tired". Origin: confusion with No. 221, see also Note LXI.









223.  (1703), var.  (1752 b).  
*n* : when doubled reads *nn* in  (V, 305, 3) *nn*, "these".  
 Origin : var. of No. 222, cf. No. 222 b and Note LXI.
224.  (1869).  
*p* : in  (V, 4, 5) *pꜣꜣ*, "adorn, decorate". Origin :  *pt*, "heaven".
225. ● (3611).  
*h* : in  (V, 221, 17) *nhh*, "grow old". Origin : confusion with ●.
226.  (1903).  
*w* : once only in  (VI, 225, 2) *itr*, "river". Origin : error for *e*.
227.  (166 a).  
*h* : only noted in  (IV, 51, 7) *msꜥw*, "glory". Origin :  *hw*, "sunshine".
228.  (1933).  
*i* : in  (V, 300, 16) *I(w)nt*, "Dendera". Origin : rebus from  "Thoth", see Note XXVII.
229.  (1929), var. of No. 228.  
*i* : in  (V, 216, 4) *I(w)nw*, "Heliopolis". Origin : as No. 228.
230.  (30 b), var.  (1944).  
 (a) *t* : in  (IV, 231, 4) *hmt*, "harpoon". Origin :  *t*, "land, earth".  
 (b) *t* : rare, in  (IV, 19, 2) *trꜥ(t)*, "milk". Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) *d* : in  (VI, 227, 11) *isꜥd*, "persea". Origin : phonetic change.




231.  (30 b + 1948), var.  (30 b, mod.),  (30 b, mod.), all var. of No. 230.  
 (a) *t* : in  (V, 304, 8) *itn*, "sun's disk". Origin : as No. 230 a.  
 (b) *d* : in  (V, 295, 16) *idhw*, "Delta marshes". Origin : phonetic change.
232.  (1268 b), var. of No. 228. ?  
*t* : only in  (VI, 239, 15) *tt*, "altar". Origin : as No. 230 b, cf. 234.
233.  (1942), var.  (2021).  
 (a) *i* : in  (VI, 70, 4) *ipw* "Panopolis". Origin :  *iw*, "island".  
 (b) *h* : in  (V, 122, 7) *hsdb*, "lapis lazuli". Origin :  *ht*, "horizon".
234.  (1942).  
 Replaces *t* in  (V, 210, 4) *tt*, "altar". Origin : variant of No. 230, cf. 232.
235.  (2018).  
 (a) *n* : infrequent, in  (IV, 358, 13) *nb ntt*, "lord of what exists". Origin : variant of .  
 (b) *i* : only noted in spellings of  (IV, 32, 5) *ity*, the 'river' of the Heliopolitan nome. Origin : confusion with  *i*, No. 233 a; cf. also No. 246 b.
236.  (1950).  
*h* : in  (VI, 49, 5) *hh*, "seek". Origin : substitute for  No. 159.
237.  (1960).  
*h* : in  (I, 22 = XI, Pl. 223) *hnꜥ*, "with". Origin :  *Hꜥ*, (god) *Ha*, suggested by ΔΡΙΟΤΟΝ, *Annales du Service*, 40, 350.



238. <sup>(1)</sup> (1960 + 3014).  
*h* : only noted in   (I, 74, 8 = XI, Pl. 243) *gmh*, “see”.  
 Origin : as No. 237.
239.  (1966).  
 (a) *d* : in  (IV, 19, 5) *dsf*, “himself”. Origin :  *dw*, “mountain”.  
 (b) *d* : in  (VII, 4, 7) *ifd*, “run, traverse”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) *t* : in   (IV, 19, 5) *st(wt)*, “rays”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (d) *h* : in  (IV, 12, 2) *hh* (*nhh*), “eternity”. See Note LXII. Origin : confusion with No. 237.  
 (e) *m* : rare, in   (*Mam.*, 147, 1) *dm* (*ty*), “wings”. Origin :   *mnt*, “cliff”, suggested by DRIOTON, *Annales du Service*, 40, 341.
240.  (1966 + 3013).  
*h* : in   (Mam., 23, 12) *hddwt*, “rays”. Origin : confusion with No. 238. See Note LXII.
241.  (1966 + 249 b).  
*h* : in    *hddt*, “the scorpion” (cf. VI, 278, 4), an epithet of Hathor-Isis (V, 227, 6) and the goddess *Wtst-Hr* (VI, 278, 3). Origin : confusion with No. 238.
242.  (3633).  
 (a) *k* : the normal value, common. Origin :   <sup>(2)</sup> *k33*, “hill”.  
 (b) *k* : in   (VIII, 131, 6) *hkrw*, “ornaments”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) *g* : in   (VI, 26, 4) *igrt*, “necropolis”. Origin : phonetic change.



<sup>(1)</sup>  is not the exact form, the original showing straight lines. minative is distinctly bigger than the initial , cf. *Urk.*, I, 287, 7; 292, 1.  
<sup>(2)</sup> In the early writings  as deter-


243.  (2006). (See Note LXIII).  
 (a) *š* : in   (V, 110, 14) *ššn*, “lotus”. Origin : confusion with .  
 (b) *h* : in  (V, 371, 6) *hnd*, “tread”. Origin : phonetic change.
244.  (497 b), var.  (496 b), alt.  (2265).  
*i* : in   (IV, 13, 4) *itn*, “sun’s disk”. Origin :   *i3t*, “mound, region”, see Note LXIV.
245.  (2002).  
 (a) *n* : the normal value, very common. Origin :   *nt*, “water”.  
 (b) *m* : usually as preposition *m* (I, 36, 14 = XI, Pl. 219). Origin :  *mw*, “water”, see Note LXV.  
 (c) as evidence for a possible interchange or confusion between  and  (indicating the value *l*?) compare   (VI, 215, 7) with   (VI, 217, 6) a word of uncertain meaning describing some sort of weapons. Cf. also   (VI, 6, 6) *m3r*, “pavilion, kiosk”, and Nos. 114 b and 304 c.
246.  (2013).  
 (a) *m* : in   (V, 216, 4) *itm*, “Atum”. Origin :  *mr*, “canal”.  
 (b) *i* : infrequent, in  (V, 20, 15) *ity*, the “river” of the Heliopolitan nome. Origin : from the hieratic of  *iw*, “island”; cf. also IV 38, 13, 14 and Nos. 233 a, 235 b.
247.  (2005).  
 (a) *š* : in  (III, 130, 15) *nšp*, “breathe”. Origin :  *š*, “pool, lake”. See Note LXVI.  
 (b) *h* : in   (VIII, 124, 1) *rḥsw*, an epithet of Thoth. Origin : phonetic change.





248.  (2007).  
 (a) š : the normal value, very common. Origin :  š, “pool, lake”.  
 (b) h : in  (VI, 21, 3) *nhn*, “stripling”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) h : in  (III, 184, 5) *h(n)nty*, “nostrils”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (d) š : only noted in writings of *šps* e.g.  (V, 184, 6) *špst*, epithet of Hathor. Origin : assimilation of *s* and *š*. See Note LXVII.  
 (e) n : in  (VI, 13, 12) *nhh*, “eternity”. Origin :  *nywt*, “waters, flood”, see Note LXVIII.  
 (f) m : only noted in  (III, 167, 1) *imr*, “hoe”. Origin : phonetic change. But see Additional Note 6 on p. 286.

249.  (2007 mod.), var. of No. 248.  
 (a) š : in  (III, 133, 9) *wšm*, “corn”. Origin : as No. 248 a.  
 (b) h : in  (III, 67, 2) *hftyw* “enemies”. Origin : phonetic change.




250.  (2011), var. of No. 247.  
 š : in  (V, 113, 8) *sšn*, “corn”. Origin : as No. 247 a.





251.  (1472 b), var. of No. 247.  
 š : in  (V, 304, 12) ‘š’, “cedar”. Origin : as No. 247 a.




252.  (552 b), var. of No. 235.  
 n : usually as genitive (V; 304, 6). Origin : as No. 235 a.




253.  (2051).  
 (a) p : only noted in spellings of  (V, 229, 17) *ps(n)*<sup>(1)</sup>, a sort of bread, and in  (III, 26, 17) *tpḥ(t)* “cavern”. Origin :  *pr*, “house”.



<sup>(1)</sup> Or perhaps simply *ps*, a word of the same meaning, cf. *Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, I, 549, 553.




- (b) h : only noted in the prep.  (V, 39, 6) *(m)-h(z)w*, “in the presence of, near”, and  (III, 95, 3) *bhd* “scent, fumigate”. Origin : error for ; see Note LXIX; see also Additional Note 7 on p. 286.






254.  (2048).  
 (a) h : the normal value, common. Origin :  *h*, “court, hall”.  
 (b) p : in  (IV, 391, 2) *pn*, “this”. Origin : confusion with ; see Note LXIX, and Additional Note 7 on p. 286.




255.  (2788).  
 ‘ : in  (V, 300, 15) *p‘p‘*, “bear”. Origin :  ‘, “column”, cf. GARDINER, *Grammar*, p. 483, Sign List O. 29.

256.  (2227).  
 ‘ : in  (VI, 75, 8) *s‘m*, “drink”. Origin :  ‘, “door”.

257.  (2366).  
 s : the normal value, very common. Origin :  s, “bolt”.
































258.  (3615).  
 h : in  (III, 133, 4) *rḥ*, “know”. Origin : confusion with .

























259.  (318 a).  
 (a) š : in  (III, 204, 3) *št(z)t*, “vulture goddess”. Origin : confusion with , No. 248 a.  
 (b) h : in  (VI, 29, 7) *mh*, “excellent”. Origin : confusion with , see No. 248 b and Note LXX.

260.  (392 b), var. of No. 259.  
 (a) š : in  (IV, 356, 9) *šd*, “persea”. Origin : as No. 259 a.  
 (b) h : in  (V, 217, 16) ‘*hmw*’, “idols”. Origin : as No. 259 b.

261. (766 b), var. (766 b, mod.), (766 b, mod), var. of No. 259.  
*h* : in (IV, 43, 13) *hntš*, “field”. Origin : as No. 259 b.
262. (2041).  
 (a) *n* : only in spellings of *mnt*, “heaven”, e.g. (IV, 11, 11). Origin : *nwt*, “city”.  
 (b) *h* : in (V, 71, 10) *srh*, “palace facade”. Origin : confusion with , cf. No. 317 d.
263. (2819), var. (2819 mod.), (2820), (734 b).  
*m* : as prep. *m* (V, 4, 3). Origin : *imw*, “boat”, suggested by DRIOTON, *Annales du Service*, 40, 346.
264. (433 b, mod.).  
*w* : only in (V, 301, 6) *wrt*, “great” (fem.). Origin : *wi*, “barque”. See Note LXXI.
265. (2862).  
*h* : only in spellings of *hw*, “flesh”, e.g. (I, 46, 4 = XI, Pl. 227). Origin : see Notes IV and LXXII; cf. No. 277.
266. (3629), infrequent var. (3630).  
 (a) *p* : the normal value, very common. Origin : *p*, “throne, seat”.  
 (b) *b* : in (VII, 100, 15) *bhd*, “throne”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) *ʿ* : only in (IV, 234, 16) *ʿnw*, “claws”. Origin : error for *r*.
267. (3290).  
 (a) *b* : in (IV, 129, 13) *h(?)b*, “hippopotamus”. Origin : *bšt*, “bush”, cf. GARDINER, *Grammar*, Sign List Aa. 4, on p. 524.  
 (b) *p* : only noted in (V, 184, 15) *nph*, an epithet of Khnum. Origin : phonetic change.

268. (3289).  
*b* : in (VI, 18, 9) *mb*, “wall”. Origin : confusion with No. 267.
269. (2746).  
*i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc.; only certain examples III, 133, 1; 190, 12, but see Note LXXIII. Origin : see p. 289.
270. (2450), var. (1954 b).  
*n* : in (IV, 320, 8) *hn*, “alight”. Origin : *nt*, “Neith”.
271. (2911).  
 (a) *n* : in (VII, 319, 14) *nšd*, “rend”. Origin : *nt*, “red crown”.  
 (b) *m* : as prep. *m* (III, 66, 10). Origin : phonetic change.
272. (2900), var. (2902).  
 (a) *k* : in (VII, 9, 3) *rk*, “time, period”; frequent as suff. 2nd. pers. sing. masc. Origin : unknown, see Note LXXIV.  
 (b) *g* : in (V, 57, 10) *hngg*, “exult”. Origin : phonetic change.  
 (c) *k* : infrequent, in (*Mam.*, 153, 18) *k(?)*, “true”. Origin : phonetic change.
273. (3574), var. (3575).  
*s* : the regular value, common. Origin : unknown.
274. (458 b), var. (3199).  
*s* : not frequent, e.g. in (IV, 15, 1) *sn*, suff. 3rd. pers. plural, and perhaps (VI, 22, 3) *bns* (?), a word of uncertain meaning. Origin : *ššt*, “piece of cloth” (cf. BUDGE, *Book of the Dead* (London 1898), 176, 6, suggested by DRIOTON, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, I, 47, No. 157; see further Note. LXXV.


















275.  (107b).  
 s : in  (IV, 17, 4) *sns*, "praise". Origin :   *st*,  
 "piece of cloth".
276.  (3101).  
 h : only in  (IV, 216, 10) *hbt*(t), "enemy, foe". Origin :  
  *hw*, "fan".
277.  (2859).  
 h : in  (I, 73, 3 = XI, Pl. 241) *h'w*, "flesh". Origin :  
 confusion with , see Note LXXVI.
278.  (2491), var.  (2493).  
 m : in  (IV, 15, 8) *mds*, "slay". Origin :  *m*?, sickle-  
 shaped end of the  - barque, cf. GARDINER, *Grammar*,  
 p. 501, Sign List, U. 1.
279.  (2484).  
 m : as prep. *m* (IV, 17, 6). Origin : from the value *mr* which  
 has in such words as  *mri*, "love".
280.  (1631b).  
 p : only in  (VI, 222, 1.7) *k(?)p*, "enemy", epithet  
 of Seth; cf. Note LVIII. Origin :   *ipt*, "corn measure".
281.  (2605).  
 (a) *d* : in  (VII, 269, 13) *ddf*(t), "snake, worm".  
 Origin : cf.  *d*?, "fire drill".  
 (b) *t* : in  (IV, 11, 12) *ttf*, "flood". Origin : phonetic  
 change.
282.  (3296).  
*d* : only in spellings of  (IV, 3, 1), cf. var.  (VIII,  
 115, 3) *hwd*, "enrich" Origin : phonetic change, from  
 *t*?, "kiln". See Note LXXVII.











283.  (284b), var.  (748b).  
 (a) *t* : in  (IV, 199, 13) *ibt*(t), "trap". Origin : phon-  
 etic change from  *t*?, "kiln".  
 (b) *d* : only in spellings of *hwd*, e.g.  (V, 390, 10) "enrich".  
 Origin : phonetic change, see Note LXXVII.
284.  (1151b), var. of No. 283.  
 (a) *t* : in  (V, 110, 11) *nmt*, "produce". Origin :  
 *t*?, "kiln".  
 (b) *d* : in  (V, 91, 1) *hwd*, "altar". Origin :  
 phonetic change, see Note LXXVII.
285.  (2793).  
 (a) *m* : the normal value, e.g.  (VII, 122, 13) *m*, "swallow".  
 Origin : unknown.  
 (b) *n* : as prep. or genitive (VII, 196, 1). Origin : phonetic  
 change.
286.  (244a).  
*m* : in  (VIII, 2, 12) *mfk*(?t), "turquoise". Origin :  
  *im*?, "give", cf. Nos. 127c, 174.
287.  (2793 + 710).  
*m* : in  (VI, 237, 13) *ksm*, "attack". Origin :  plus  
 determinative.
288.  (2597).  
 (a) *t* : in  (VI, 85, 1) *tkn*, "approach". Origin : from  *t*.  
 (b) *t* : in  (VIII, 69, 11) *tt*, "altar". Origin : phonetic  
 change.  
 (c) *d* : in  (III, 191, 5) *dg*(?), "see". Origin : phonetic  
 change.  
 (d) *d* : in  (VII, 95, 11) *wdh*, "child". Origin : phon-  
 etic change.




289. (2601), var. (508 b).  
 (a) *t*: in (VIII, 120, 16) *tš*, “sit”. Origin: error for .
- (b) *m*: in (VIII, 34, 2) *h<sub>1</sub>tm*, “Egypt”. Origin: *mn*, “remain, endure”. See Note LXXVIII.
290. (3482).  
*w*: in (VII, 52, 2) *k<sub>1</sub>wt*, “lift, raise”. Origin: cf. *w<sub>1</sub>w*, “lassoes”.
291. (1046 b), var. (3473).  
*g*: in (V, 270, 3) *b<sub>1</sub>(3)gs*, “stab”. Origin: from in *wgg*, “misery”, cf. GARDINER, *Grammar*, p. 511, Sign List V. 33; *B. I. F. A. O.*, 30, 180, 181.
292. (3475), var. of No. 291.  
*g*: only noted in (VI, 229, 1) *nb(t) f<sup>c</sup>g*, epithet of Nekhbet. Origin: as No. 291.
293. (3464).  
*s*: only in (V, 30, 1) *d<sub>1</sub>f<sub>1</sub>s(w)*, “he shows himself”. Origin: cf. *s*, “hasten”.
294. (3437), var. (3438), (429 b).  
 (a) *t*: the normal value, common. Origin: cf. *tu*, “fetter”.  
 (b) *t*: in (IV, 194, 14) *mr(w)t*, “love”. Origin: phonetic change.  
 (c) *d*: in (IV, 212, 7) *dm(i)*, “traverse”. Origin: phonetic change.  
 (d) *d*: in (V, 298, 7) *p<sub>1</sub>(3) dr*, an epithet of Amun. Origin: phonetic change.  
 (e) *i*: suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (VI, 152, 8). Origin: see p. 290.
295. (3508).  
*s*: in (I, 69, 16 = XI, Pl. 238) *shd*, “illumine”. Origin: *s<sub>1</sub>*, “hobble”.





296. (3129).  
*s*: in (VII, 2, 3) *shd*, “illumine”. Origin: *s<sub>1</sub>*, “protection”.
297. (3488).  
*h*: the normal value, common. Origin: unknown.
298. (3257).  
 (a) *k*: in (IV, 240, 11) *sk*, “perish”. Origin: error for .
- (b) *g*: only noted in (III, 285, 14) *gnhw*, “wings”. Origin: error for .
299. (3263).  
 (a) *k*: the normal value, common. Origin: unknown.  
 (b) *k*: in (VI, 232, 4) *skr*, “smite”. Origin: phonetic change.  
 (c) *g*: in (V, 112, 2) *grh*, “night”. Origin: phonetic change.
300. (3255), var. (3255 mod.).  
 (a) *g*: in (VII, 5, 3) *gb(t)*, “heaven”. Origin: *g<sub>1</sub>wt*, “bundles”.  
 (b) *k*: in (VII, 24, 12) *b(i)k* “falcon”. Origin: phonetic change.
301. (3272).  
 (a) *c*: in (IV, 13, 3) *š*, “cedar”. Origin: *c*, “bowl”.  
 (b) *b*: in (III, 69, 18) *bh(t)*, “fan”. Origin: error for .
302. (2355), var. (2354), (573 b) (rare). Note LXXIX.  
 (a) *g*: the normal value, e.g. (VII, 2, 5) *wbg*, “illumine”. Origin: unknown.  
 (b) *n*: rare, in (I, 50, 13 = XI, Pl. 231; I, 328, collated) *nn*, “child”. Origin: confusion with , cf. No. 303 e. See Note LXXX.











303.  (2362), var.  (955 b). Note LXXIX.
- (a) *g* : common, e.g.   (IV, 120, 14) *gʹt*, “talon”.  
Origin : confusion or fusion with .
  - (b) *k* : in   (I, 37, 13 = XI, Pl. 221) *bkr*, “throne”.  
Origin : phonetic change.
  - (c) *k* : in  (VI, 65, 5) *knd*, “rage, be furious”. Origin :  
phonetic change.
  - (d) *h* : in     (IV, 68, 10) *hkrw*, “ornaments”. Origin :  
, Ptol.  *hr*, “under”.
  - (e) *n* : only in   (V, 266, 19) *nm*, “child”. Origin : con-  
fusion with , cf. No. 302 b.








304.  (3305).
- (a) *n* : common, e.g.  (VI, 49, 5) *hns*, “traverse”. Origin :  
from the phonetic value *in* in  *ink*, “I” or *nw* in  *nw*, “of”.
  - (b) *m* : in    (IV, 313, 6) *htmw*, “offerings”. Origin :  
phonetic change.
  - (c) replacing an original *r*, e.g. in    (VII, 226, 9)  
*mhnw* (old *mhr*), “milk jugs”. Cf. also Nos. 114 b, 245 c.  
Origin : phonetic change.




305.  (3331).
- p* : only in spellings of *irp*, “wine”,  (IV, 19, 2). Origin :  
error for , cf. Nos. 164 b, 306.





306.  (3332).
- p* : only in   (VII, 117, 9) *irp*, “wine”. Origin : error  
for , cf. Nos. 164 b, 305.



307.  (3608).
- (a) *t* : the normal value, very common. Origin :  *t*, “bread”.
  - (b) *t* : in   (VII, 255, 5) *tni*, “distinguish”. Hence,  
frequently suffix 2nd. pers. sing. fem. Origin : phonetic  
change.
  - (c) *d* : in   (VI, 28, 11) *idb*, “shore, bank”. Origin :  
phonetic change.







- (d) *d* : in   (VI, 80, 1) *wdb*, “turn”. Origin : phon-  
etic change.
- (e) *i* : suff. 1st. pers. sing. fem. (VI, 48, 10). Origin : see  
p. 290.






308.  (245 b), var.  (282 b).
- t* : only noted in   (VI, 98, 15) and   (VI, 255, 12)  
*ntt*, “existing things”. Origin :  *t*, “bread”.


309.  (3234).
- t* : frequently replaces *t* in  (V, 302, 16) (*i*)*t*, “father”.  
Origin :  *t*, “bread”.

310.  (3238).
- t* : in  (VII, 6, 7) *btu*, “enemy”, frequent in  (VII, 267,  
15) (*i*)*t*, “father”. Origin : confusion with .



311.  (1491 b).
- t* : only in  (V, 399, 1) (*i*)*t*, “father”. Origin : as No. 310.



312.  (3641).
- (a) *d* : in    (V, 90, 7) *mds*, a name of Seth. Origin :  
 *di*, “give”.
  - (b) *t* : only noted in  (IV, 11, 4) *nt*, “of”. Origin : phonetic  
change.


313.  (3195).
- (a) *m* : in  (IV, 61, 13) *hsm(n)*, “purify”. Origin :   
*mn*, “remain, endure”, see Note LXXVIII.
  - (b) *s* : noted only in   (VII, 31, 12; 179, 13) *snd*,  
“fear”. Origin : see Note LXXV.



314.  (3525).
- (a) *i* : as suff. 1st. pers. sing. masc. (IV, 20, 14) and fem.  
(VI, 50, 2), both uses are common. Origin : the stroke  
is an ideogram expressing one, unity.





(b) *p* : in  (VIII, 121, 16) 'pp, "Apophis". Origin : confusion with .


(c)  very occasionally has the value *w*, suff. 3rd. pers. plural, e.g.  (VI, 145, 5) *ir.w*, "they make". Origin : conventional expression of plurality, *w* being the Late Egyptian suff. 3rd. pers. plural.





315.  (3536).



, a cursive form of , has the following uses which are in the main phonetic in origin :



(a) *i, y* : in  (V, 221, 6) *st*, "odour".





(b) *z* : in  (V, 214, 4) *hzb*, "hippopotamus".


(c) *t* : in  (V, 132, 6) *rht*, "list".



(d) apparently meaningless : frequently in conjunction with , e.g.  (V, 299, 2) *tkn*, "approach", but also in other words (usually as space-filler ??), e.g.  (IV, 43, 13) *mnh*, "excellent". But note  (V, 223, 15) *hb*, (20π) "festival".

316.  (3460), occasional var.  (3467).


(a) *w* : the normal value, e.g.  (VI, 19, 5) *wn*, "be". Origin : cursive, hieratic form of  (No. 187).


(b) *š* : in  (VI, 70, 1) *wš*, "chew". Origin :  *št*, "hundred",  is the normal Ptolemaic equivalent of .


(c) *h* : in  (III, 183, 6) *h*, "lift, raise". Origin : phonetic change.



(d) *f* : in  (III, 218, 5) *hstyw*, "enemies". Origin : confusion with , cf. Note XXXVI.


317.  (2457).





(a) *h* : the normal value, common. Origin :  *h*, "placenta" (?).


(b) *h* : in  (VI, 196, 2) *hdb*, "slay". Origin : phonetic change.




(c) *š* : in  (VI, 285, 1) *špt*, "anger". Origin : phonetic change.


(d) *n* : infrequent, in  (VIII, 161, 1) *nnt*, "heaven". Origin : confusion with , cf. No. 262 b.



318.  (3512).

 : only in  (III, 298, 10), var.  (IV, 109, 10) *w'n*, a form of pine cone. Origin : cf. , a word of uncertain meaning (Pap. Leiden 345, Vs. G. 4, 1. 3. 4).





319.  (2155).


 : in  (VI, 15, 8) *sgmh*, spear of Horus. Origin :  *s*, "back".







320.  (2553).

 : only in  (III, 68, 8) *mšr*, "evening". Origin : see Note LXXXI.

### C.—NOTES ON THE SIGN LIST.

I. There are two alternative ways by which ,  and  may have acquired the value *f*. Either  gives the value, the human figures simply acting as supports, or each sign is the ideogram *f* from which the monoconsonantal value is derived on the consonantal principle. I favour the second alternative, since the signs are used at Edfu both as monoconsonantal *f* and as the ideogram *f*. See also Note XXI.

II. Cf. also  (*Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, I, 169). For the occurrence of this word in the Old Kingdom cf. GRDSELOFF in *Annales du Service*, 42, 114.

III. There are solid grounds for believing that in Ptolemaic the old word  "child" had become *nn*. This is supported by the writing of the name of Herakleopolis, writings such as , and by the use of  itself with the value *nn*. Nevertheless, this does not prove that the original word was *nn*, *nnw* or the like, and the early writing of the name of the god Nun as  (*Pyr.* 446 a, W) and of the demonstrative pronoun *nnw* as  (*Pyr.* 128 a, W; var. T, M and N ) favour the view that originally the word was to be transliterated *nnw* or *nñw*<sup>(1)</sup>. The

<sup>(1)</sup> Drioton has produced further evidence in support of this view in his decipherment of the cryptogram of Khaemhet, *Revue d'Égyptologie*, I (1933).

5. Cf. GARDINER and GAUTHIER-LAURENT, *Supplement to Gardiner's Egyptian Grammar*, 20.

Ptolemaic writing  $\text{𓆎}$  is, of course, purely historical. It is impossible to-day to decide whether  $\text{𓆎}$  acquired the value *n* from the original *nww* or the contemporary *nm*. The distinction is a subtle one and not of prime importance, for, whatever view one adopts, the monoconsonantal value was undoubtedly obtained by the application of the consonantal principle.

IV. The real point of interest here is the falling away of  $\text{𓆎}$ . Although  $\text{𓆎}$  was one of the weaker consonants and was not written in Coptic for instance, it does not appear to have been as weak as  $\text{𓆏}$ ,  $\text{𓆐}$ ,  $\text{𓆑}$  or  $\text{𓆒}$ . At Edfu it appears that  $\text{𓆎}$  only weakens or falls away in certain definite circumstances, when it either follows or precedes  $\text{𓆎}$ , or, much less frequently,  $\text{𓆏}$  or  $\text{𓆑}$ <sup>(1)</sup>. Except in these conditions, I can find no examples of the weakening or disappearance of  $\text{𓆎}$ , the apparent exceptions in  $\text{𓆎𓆎𓆎}$  (VII, 292, 10) for 'bb, "harpoon" and a few other words having a different explanation (cf. Note XIX).

When preceded by  $\text{𓆎}$  there appears to be a tendency for  $\text{𓆎}$  to become  $\text{𓆏}$ <sup>(2)</sup>, which in its turn weakens and is apt to be modified to  $\text{𓆑}$  or to disappear<sup>(3)</sup>. Dr. Černý has suggested to me that perhaps this is to be explained by the juxtaposition of the two gutturals  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆎}$ , but whatever the explanation may be, the facts are certain. Whether the same explanation applies when  $\text{𓆎}$  precedes  $\text{𓆎}$  is quite uncertain, possibly it does, but no explanation of the phenomenon has ever been made and I cannot find any examples of  $\text{𓆎}$  becoming  $\text{𓆏}$  before  $\text{𓆎}$ .

The following examples will serve to illustrate these remarks:—

(a) after  $\text{𓆎}$ :  $\text{𓆎}$  becomes weak, e.g.,  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (III, 100, 11), var.  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (VII, 144, 3) *ht nb 'h'*, "all warlike equipment";  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (III, 320, 1)

<sup>(1)</sup> This is not confined to the Ptolemaic Period alone: cf. DÉVAUD, *Sur la substitution d'un 𓆎 secondaire à un 𓆎 primaire* in *Sphinx*, 12, 107-110; 13, 153-162.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. ČERNÝ in *Annales du Service*, 41, 335-6; SETHE in *ZÄS.*, 47, 164. A further example of the change of  $\text{𓆎}$  into  $\text{𓆏}$  after  $\text{𓆎}$  is to be found in a cryptogram of the Eighteenth Dynasty in which  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  is twice written for the

preposition  $\text{𓆎}$  (DRIOTON, *Essai sur la Cryptographie Privée* in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, I (1933), 7, Nos. A. 99, 101). Drioton's explanation (*op. cit.*, 42, No. 87) that  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  is equivalent to  $\text{𓆎}$  by acrophony from  $\text{𓆎𓆎𓆎}$  *h'w* is clearly wrong and misses the point of the writing.

<sup>(3)</sup> In this connection the writing  $\text{𓆎𓆎𓆎}$  (III, 154, 5) for  $\text{𓆎}$ , "inscribe" is interesting.

$\text{𓆎}'w$ , "youths"; or disappears as in  $\text{𓆎}$  (IV, 19, 6)  $\text{w}'h$ , "garland",  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (III, 361, 8, cf. IV, 287, 9)  $\text{m h}'d$ , "wrongfully".

(b) before  $\text{𓆎}$ :  $\text{𓆎}$  either disappears as in  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (V, 55, 10; cf. IV, 32, 1; *Mam.*, 197, 3)  $\text{i}'h$ , "moon", and  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (V, 179, 2)  $\text{b}'h$ , "inundate, flood", or is equivalent to  $\text{𓆎}$ , as in  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (IV, 298, 13)  $\text{b}'h$ , "phallus". Cf. also Nos. 265 and 277.

(c) after  $\text{𓆏}$ :  $\text{𓆎}$  disappears in  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (IV, 51, 7)  $\text{msh}'w$ , "glory".

(d) after  $\text{𓆑}$ :  $\text{𓆎}$  weakens, as in  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (III, 154, 5)  $\text{h}'$ , "inscribe"; or disappears as in  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (VIII, 112, 3)  $\text{h}'$ , "inscribe".

Such are the conditions under which  $\text{𓆎}$  weakens or disappears at Edfu. There is evidence, however, from other temples that  $\text{𓆎}$  could behave as the other weak consonants and that occasionally it could fall away when in contact with other consonants than  $\text{𓆎}$ , cf. SETHE, *Die Neuentdeckte Sinai-Schrift und die Entstehung der semitischen Schrift in Nachr. von der Kgl. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1917, p. 473, and  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  *Hnm*, "Khnum" (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 651 F) Examples of this falling away of  $\text{𓆎}$  are rare and would appear to be a late development. Cf. No. 219 (e).






V. It is possible, of course, to see in  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  a phonogram *ik* from  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  *ik*, "be aged", but it is somewhat improbable since in the example quoted in No. 29 b this sign can only represent  $\text{𓆎}$ .




VI. At present this is the only example known to me. The usual form is No. 88.



VII. This sign usually reads either *hm*, "majesty" or *hm-i*, "my majesty". In the example quoted, however, the king himself is speaking and it suits the context better to take the sign as the suffix pronoun.


VIII. I doubt very much whether the signs composing this and similar spellings of the name of Dendera are in any sense monoconsonantal and I am quite unable to suggest any way in which they could have become monoconsonantal. The explanation first put forward by Dümichen (*ZÄS.*, 1869, 105) that this name is to be read *Wsir-Hr-St* is likely to be correct. Cf. DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte*, XLI; XXXVII, 10.


IX. Thus  $\text{𓆎}$  is *n-i* in  $\text{𓆎𓆎}$  (III, 190, 11) *sšp-n-i*, "I received".


















































































































X. Derived from  "Thoth" through a misunderstanding of the hieratic form of  (cf. SCHAEFER in ZÄS., 40, 124). Although it may be presumed that when the misunderstanding first arose  was construed as *Dhwiti*, it is clear that its origin was speedily forgotten and that  was taken as *i*, not so much as a real name of Thoth as an epithet similar to *rḥsw*, *ḥp*, *sš*, *si* etc. Hence it was but a step for some signs that depicted Thoth to acquire the value *i* on the consonantal principle, or for creatures or objects identified with Thoth to acquire the same value by rebus. See further Note XXVII. Drioton, however, (*Annales du Service*, 40, 351) suggests that this value was acquired by acrophony from  *i'h*, "moon". See Additional Note 1, p. 284.

XI. Also used in the Old Perfective  (VI, 87, 3) *kwi*, and in the independent pronoun  (VI, 79, 12),  (VI, 81, 4) *nwi* (*inwi*).

XII. Hence  reads *n-i* in  (IV, 139, 8) *sšp-n-i*, "I have received".

XIII. Hence  (*Mam.*, 82, 4) reads *hmt-t*, "thy (fem.) majesty".






XIV. Probably also in  (VI, 131, 3) "trouble, misfortune", which I would transliterate *hnh* (cf. ΖΝΩΩΩΕ) rather than *hr-n-hr* which is the rather unimaginative preference of the *Wörterbuch* (cf. Wilson, "The descendants of *ḥwny-r-hr*" in ZÄS., 68, 56-7)<sup>(1)</sup>.




XV. That  reads 'Iwnt, "Dendera" is certain from comparison of the very common title of Hathor                                     (V, 373, 14) with                                     (V, 370, 5) "Hathor, the great, Mistress of Dendera, Eye of Rē, residing in Behdet, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods" (cf. ZÄS., 43, 120). This writing cannot have been monoconsonantal and Grdseloff has suggested to me that  probably arose through a rebus on the conception of Hathor as a sistrum with two faces. This idea finds expression in the Pyramid Texts in the phrase                                         "B:it with her two faces"<sup>(2)</sup>. Hathor




<sup>(1)</sup> I owe this reference to Mr. Grdseloff.


<sup>(2)</sup> *Pyr.* 1096 b; cf. GRDSELOFF in *Annales du Service*, 40, 196. For the identification with Hathor see also SETHE,



































*Zur Sage vom Sonnenauge (Untersuchungen, V), 148.* Ptolemaic texts also refer to the four faces of Hathor (cf. IV, 73, 1; VI, 262, 6-7).

the lady with the two faces was also the lady of Dendera  *Iwnyt*<sup>(1)</sup>. Thus there was a rough equation and it seems not at all impossible that , the city of Hathor, could have come to be regarded as , the city of the lady with the two faces and thus the latter combination may have been regarded as *Iwnt*. If this suggestion is correct,  as a writing of  *Iwnw*, "Heliopolis" would be a secondary development.

XVI. Hence  is *mk* in  (III, 86, 13) *mk*, "festival", and  (VI, 325, 4) *mk*, "protect".

XVII. Similar spellings of *tm*-<sup>c</sup> that occur fairly frequently are  (III, 132, 6) and  (III, 43, 15), but these are probably to be explained as originating by metathesis from  *mt*, "phallus".

XVIII. Evidence for the interchange of *b* and *m* is scanty as far as the alphabetic signs are concerned (cf. No. 166 c, together with Notes XXXV and LV). Multiliteral signs, however, give clear indications of the change, thus , originally *nḥbt*, "lotus bud", is a not uncommon writing of *nḥm*, "rescue, save" (e.g., IV, 29, 14).

XIX. It is very unlikely that any phonetic reason lies behind the use of  here instead of simple . At all periods hieroglyphic writing has a fondness for symmetrical and "square" groupings and this is particularly evident in Ptolemaic. One of the devices employed by the Ptolemaic scribe was to use additional, unetymological signs in order to give a symmetrical appearance to words. The word under discussion is a case in point. Though the process is not exactly a common one, it is not difficult to quote other instances: e.g.     (VII, 313, 1) for *bb*, "winged beetle",   (VI, 133, 1) for *hnh*, "trouble",    (VIII, 48, 6) for *b:tkk*, "aggressive Ba" or     (IV, 239, 14) for *dngngs*, an epithet or name of the uraeus. Ptolemaic also employs the converse process whereby, if two identical signs are separated by a third, different sign, only one of the identical signs is written and does the work of both; thus     (IV, 309, 13) for *šbšb*, "divide",   (III, 188, 10) for *hbhb*, "slaughter",     (V, 80, 8) for *hmhmtj*, an epithet of Apophis, or often in     (III, 15, 9),      (VIII, 121, 3) and other spellings of *dngngs*. Very occasionally both processes

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. VIII, 64, 2 and often.

are combined, as in (IV, 374, 1) for 'bb, "harpoon". These and similar writings are clearly graphic and not phonetic in origin.

XX. But (VIII, 97, 9) reads *phr*, and is derived from a misunderstanding of the hieratic form of .

XXI. Ultimately, of course, derives the value *š* from *š*, "pool" but it is probable that its immediate origin was *šm*, "go", a frequent Ptolemaic writing of which was , recalling Coptic *ϣε*.

The difficulties that attend any attempt to establish the precise origin of many of the composite signs cannot yet, in my opinion, be overcome in a satisfactory manner since the solution lies in a more complete knowledge than we yet possess of the composition and formation of the composite signs. It is this that accounts for the apparent inconsistencies in the origins I have suggested for the values borne by certain composite signs.

Originally, of course, such signs as , , , , , , and arose through the combination of alphabetic signs or phonograms with the legs *h*, which acted as supports or determinatives, but some of them became recognised phonograms. It is difficult, if not impossible, for the modern student to ascertain whether the ancient scribes always analysed , and according to their component elements or whether eventually they did not come to lose sight of the ultimate origin and regard each sign as an entity in itself.

The position with regard to human or divine figures combined with crowns, headdresses or other signs is rather more complicated. If we argue, as I think that we must, that in (No. 48) the is only the support, what are we to see in , , , , and their variant forms?

As a purely personal working hypothesis, which obviously may have to be modified with increased knowledge and understanding, I am inclined to be guided by the following consideration. If a composite sign has an established and, preferably, long history as an independent phonogram and later comes to act as an alphabetic sign, the latter is probably to be derived from the whole sign as a phonogram and a unity and not from one of the component elements, although the ultimate origin of the whole sign must not be forgotten.



Accordingly, I am at present inclined to derive the monoconsonantal uses of , , and from their established use as the phonograms *šm* (*ϣε*), *it* and *in*, and to separate them from , , and which appear to be merely alphabetic signs combined with *h* or *h*. and are border line cases, but my bias is towards ranging them with the phonograms.









With regard to the signs in which human and divine figures play a part, it will probably be conceded that acquired its monoconsonantal value from , but since and are also used as phonograms or word-signs it is probable that their employment as alphabetic signs originated in the phonograms and not in or . Since and also act as phonograms, it is possible that they acquired their monoconsonantal values from the phonograms. In analysing and I am inclined to assign them to that class of composite signs composed of a phonogram plus its phonetic complement (e.g. , , ), rather than to consider them as merely plus support, which is their outward appearance but which does not take into account their employment as phonograms.





The final and decisive answer to these problems, if it can ever be given, must wait till we know more about the nature and composition of the composite signs. There is, however, no necessity to assume that all signs of similar outward formation are necessarily bound to have originated in similar ways. This is pure assumption, void of any basis in fact, and contrary to the facts at our disposal.



XXII. The origins suggested for Nos. 144 and 145 a have been influenced by a suggestion made to me some time ago by Professor A. M. Blackman, who drew my attention to the texts accompanying the scenes of the offering of Truth (*m<sup>3</sup>t*). In these texts a striking feature is the frequent use of the words , , and as synonyms of *M<sup>3</sup>t*. At first sight the difference between these words appears to be considerable, but closer examination will show that in fact it must have been slight. In Coptic both *m<sup>3</sup>t* and *mri*, "love" are *ME*, and it is therefore easy to see how the pun , could have arisen. itself must in all probability have been *mr* or *mry* (and not *mt*), the Middle Kingdom variant <sup>(1)</sup> being




<sup>(1)</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, II, Pl. 7.











significant and, I think, decisive. The writing  probably originated through a misunderstanding of the true value of , which was emended into a word which must nevertheless, have had a similar pronunciation. Since this question will shortly be the subject of a detailed study by Professor Blackman, I refrain from anticipating his remarks and from giving full supporting quotations.

XXIII. Similar confusion between  and  occurs in   (IV, 14, 9) "like heaven upon its supports". Cf. also   (III, 187, 14) for   s:b-sš.



XXIV. Hence  forms an element in various composite signs : e.g.  is rš in ršwt, "joy" (IV, 17, 4) and šr in mšr, "evening" (I, 40, 14 = XI, Pl. 222);  (ds+r) is dsr, "sacred, private";  is r, "Rē" and rdī, "give".


XXV. Without a close examination of the original forms, which I have not been able to make, it is difficult to say whether this sign represents a cat or a lion. In suggesting that it is a cat I have been influenced less by the actual appearance of the sign as it is given in the fount than by the fact that at Edfu  is used far more frequently than  to spell mī.




XXVI. Hence  and  read in and  reads dd mdw in.







XXVII. Drioton<sup>(1)</sup> while admitting that the value i may have been acquired from  has argued that we cannot tell that the Egyptians looked upon  as i and not Dhwti and has therefore suggested that i was derived by acrophony from   i'h, "moon". It is, of course, quite likely that when  was first used the scribes construed it as Dhwti, but the fact that in Ptolemaic texts  itself is equivalent to i is clear proof that at least in Ptolemaic times the true origin of  had been forgotten and the group was simply interpreted as i, an epithet of Thoth. Once this stage had been reached, it was but a small and natural step for symbols of Thoth to acquire the value i by rebus in the same way that  becomes ib by rebus from Thoth's epithets ib and ib n R'. It is surely no mere coincidence that , , ) and ), all associated with Thoth, should have acquired the common value i (see




<sup>(1)</sup> *Annales du Service*, 40, 341.

Nos. 179, 228 and 229), and it would not be at all unnatural to find that they had a common origin. It may be argued that  became i by acrophony from i'h, "moon", though personally I do not find this convincing, and ), —, ) also from i'h, but acrophony is hardly likely to explain , since the value ib that this sign sometimes bears is purely secondary, and moreover i might be derived acrophonically from ikr.





The simplest and most direct course is to derive all these values from . See also Additional Note 1 on p. 284.

XXVIII. Hence  is a very common writing of s', "protection". Cf. the composite signs  bs', "protect, protection" and  s:f (Mam., 55, 10) "his protection".





XXIX. It is very unlikely that  could have acquired the values d, d(d) by acrophony from   Dhwti. There are various objections to such a derivation, not the least being the inherent improbability of acrophony having played an important part in the formation of alphabetic values. It is surely remarkable that, if Dhwti is indeed the origin, neither  nor  is ever the phoneme d in any Ptolemaic text known to me, although that would be a natural and obvious value if this suggestion were correct<sup>(1)</sup>. Moreover, if a sign is to acquire a monoconsonantal value from a given word either by the consonantal principle or by acrophony, it is essential that the sign itself should be either an ideogram representing the word in question or the "determinative" of that word. To the best of my knowledge, at no period does  act as the determinative of Dhwti, and it is very rarely an ideogram with that value<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> In a cryptogram of the New Kingdom, however,  has the value d in   dsr (DRIOTON in *Revue d'Égyptologie*, I, 16 = *Inscr. B.* 18); cf. also *Annales du Service*, 41, 116. In a monumental cryptogram Drioton has suggested that a standing figure, which he thinks may have been that of Thoth, had the value d, but it is damaged and it is uncertain whether it is really Thoth (*Annales du Service*, 40, 332). Even in




these cases, however, it has not been proved conclusively that d was derived from Dhwti, though this certainly seems a plausible suggestion.


<sup>(2)</sup> I am aware of only three possible instances in which  may be equivalent to Dhwti :-  (Cairo 689 = BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, 33),  (Cairo 700 = BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, III, 42) and  (CHAMPOLLION, *Panthéon*, Pl. 30 G, quoted in BOYLAN,

It is unlikely, therefore, if not quite impossible, that *d* could have been derived from *Dhwti*.



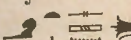
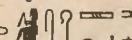
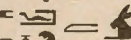
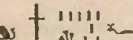
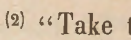
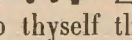
It is true that the ape was a well-known symbol of Thoth, but this does not necessarily imply that it assumed the name of Thoth, and unless  was a legitimate variant of the name *Dhwti* it cannot possibly have acquired the value *d* from that word. It should be noted here that while a god may have several symbols and numerous names or epithets, it does not follow that every symbol can or does bear all the names or epithets of the god with which it is identified and in fact all the evidence points to a certain degree of specialisation. Thus, in the case of Thoth, among his symbols are the ape and the ibis, among his numerous attributes or epithets are *ib*, *ikr*, *wp*, *rh*, *si* and *ss*, but while  can be *wp*, *si* or *ss*, it is never *ib*, *ikr* or *rh*, which are values borne by  alone, which in its turn is never *wp*, *si* or *ss*. It is probable, therefore, that the origin of the value under discussion is to be sought in a name or epithet of , or in an epithet of a god (who may or may not be Thoth) who is associated with the ape.


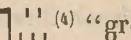
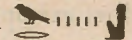
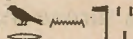
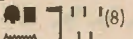
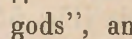


In considering the ape, the mind turns naturally to Hermopolis, where the ape seems to have been older than the ibis. At Hermopolis, in addition to the celebrated "Eight", there was also a "Five", which appears to have been older than the Eight <sup>(1)</sup>. The high priest of Thoth

*Thoth*, 3, which I have not been able to check). It is very tempting to read *Dhwti* in these three cases, but the reading is not quite certain and it may prove to either *wp* or *wpwti*. In two further instances (ROEDER, *Der Tempel von Dakke*, I, 312 = II, Pl. 115; LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, III, Pl. cciv, 1) the figure of an ape is accompanied by an inscription in the name of Thoth, but in neither of these cases is it certain that the name of the ape itself is *Dhwti* and it is only the association of the ape with Thoth that is indicated. The personal name    (Cairo 22238

= AHMED BEY KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaïques*, 216) is not to be read *Ti-Dhwti* as Boylan suggests (BOYLAN, *Thoth*, 175) but *Ti-i'h*. At Edfu, and at Dendera also as far as I am aware,  never has the value *Dhwti*, and though the examples just quoted indicate that occasionally it may have borne this value, they are quite exceptional and it is certain that it is not the normal value.



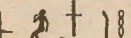
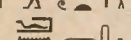
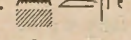
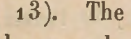
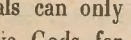
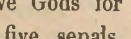
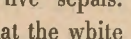
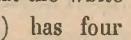
<sup>(1)</sup> The most recent discussion of the Five of Hermopolis is to be found in SETHE, *Amin und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§ 73-6.

was  <sup>(1)</sup> "chief of the Five in the temple of Thoth". The same connection of the Five with Hermopolis and with an early creation myth is clearly indicated by a text at Dendera which reads        <sup>(2)</sup> "Take to thyself the plant that came into being in the beginning, the noble lotus, ruler of the great pool, amidst whose five sepals thou didst come forth in *Wnw*" <sup>(3)</sup>.

The exact composition of the Five is unknown. A text at Edfu speaks of Thoth as   <sup>(4)</sup> "great chieftain of the five gods" but it is not certain that Thoth was originally one of the Five, still less that he was their chief. Sethe has suggested that the god  <sup>(5)</sup> was not Thoth but Osiris <sup>(6)</sup>, confirmation for which is forthcoming in the statement, overlooked by Sethe, that Nut gave birth to Osiris as  <sup>(7)</sup> "chief of the five gods". Osiris was  <sup>(8)</sup> "first of the five gods,  <sup>(9)</sup> "great god among the five gods", and even  <sup>(8)</sup> or \*  <sup>(8)</sup> as though he were the very epitome of the Five. It is probably Osiris, therefore, who is twice mentioned at Edfu in the epithet of the

<sup>(1)</sup> BOYLAN, *Thoth*, 148, 151.

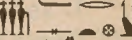
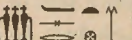
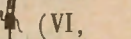
<sup>(2)</sup> MARIETTE, *Denderah*, I, 55 b. For further references to the five gods who came forth from the Nun or in Hermopolis cf. BRUGSCH, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, 15, 7, and Pap. Mag. Harris 3, 5, both of which are quoted by SETHE, *op. cit.*, § 76.

<sup>(3)</sup> Much the same idea occurs in    =     (IV, 392, 16-17), cf.  =   (VI, 247, 13). The reference to the five sepals can only be connected with the Five Gods for the lotus does not have five sepals. Dr. L. Keimer informs me that the white lotus (*Nymphaea lotus* L.) has four sepals and from 16 to 20 petals (cf. *Description de l'Égypte* (2nd. ed. 1824),

XIX, *Hist. nat. Botanique. Flore d'Égypte*, text pp. 415-422 and Pl. 60, fig. 1), and the blue lotus (*Nymphaea caerulea* Sav.) has four sepals and from 12 to 14 petals (*Descr.*, XIX, text, pp. 422-5, and Pl. 60, fig. 2). The mention of five sepals is therefore clearly a mythological allusion.

<sup>(4)</sup> VI, 144, 1-2.

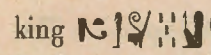
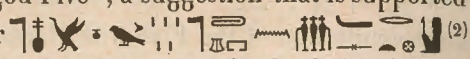
<sup>(5)</sup> MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, 44; SCHIAPARELLI, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, II, 114.

<sup>(6)</sup> SETHE, *op. cit.*, §§ 74, 75. For Sethe's suggestion that  was also Osiris cf.   (VI, 301, 14).






<sup>(7)</sup> NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, Pl. CCIX, 30-31.

<sup>(8)</sup> Quoted by SETHE, *op. cit.*, § 75.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Urk.*, IV, 543, 9; cf. 545, 1. Quoted by SETHE, *op. cit.*, § 75.

king <sup>(1)</sup> “image of the god Five”, a suggestion that is supported by the epithets of a Roman emperor <sup>(2)</sup> “the good god whom ‘the chief of the Five’ created, the heir of *Hnti-Hsrt*”.

So far this discussion has had little direct connection with the ape, but evidence is not lacking that there was some special connection between the ape and the number 5. This evidence was first produced by Kees<sup>(3)</sup>, who published drawings from three monuments which are reproduced in Fig. 55.

The earliest example (Fig. 54 a)<sup>(4)</sup> comes from Abydos and is dated to the reign of Semempses of the First Dynasty. It depicts an ape seated on a throne with a much damaged but certain numeral “5” before him, while above him is  *Hd-wrw* and below him a sacred barque. The second example (Fig. 54 b)<sup>(5)</sup> forms part of an inscribed panel of Zoser discovered by Firth under the Step Pyramid at Sakkara. Here we see an ape, wearing a priestly band over its shoulders, seated on a high rectangular pedestal immediately over five supports , with paws stretched over a bowl on a small stand, and with the inscription  . The third example (Fig. 54 c)<sup>(6)</sup> is taken from a naos, clearly archaistic in inspiration, dedicated to Thoth by Apries and coming from Baklia; it is practically identical with Fig. 54 (b) and once again the accompanying text reads . Though the full meaning of these three examples still escapes us, there can be little doubt that they indicate some special connection between the ape (*Hd-wr*) and the number “5”, and Kees has produced conclusive proof of the connection between

<sup>(1)</sup> V, 293, 2, cf. V, 252, 17.

<sup>(2)</sup> From a text of the Roman Period at Deir el-Shelwit, between Medinet Habu and Armant, quoted by SETHE, *op. cit.*, § 74.

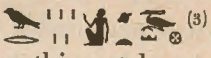
<sup>(3)</sup> KEES, *Zu den neuen Zoser-Reliefs aus Sakkara in Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1929, 57-64, espec-

ially 61-4.

<sup>(4)</sup> PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. 12, 1 = 17, 26.

<sup>(5)</sup> FIRTH-QUIBELL, *The Step Pyramid*, Pl. 16 = Pl. II accompanying Firth's report *Excavations at Sakkara in Annales du Service*, 28, 81-8.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cairo 70008 = ROEDER, *Naos*, Pl. 9 and p. 35, § 173 e.

*Hd-wr* and Thoth<sup>(1)</sup>. It may not be inapposite to recall here that it was suggested long ago by Ahmed Bey Kamal that at Baklia Thoth was worshipped as an ibis at *Rhivy* and as an ape at *B'h*<sup>(2)</sup>, and it is therefore not without significance that at Edfu the king is called <sup>(3)</sup> i.e. chief of the five (high priest of Thoth) at *B'h*. May this not be an indication that there was some special and close connection between the cult of the ape and that of the Five Gods?

There can be no doubt that the ape and the idea of “five” were closely associated, but it is not clear why they should have been. It is

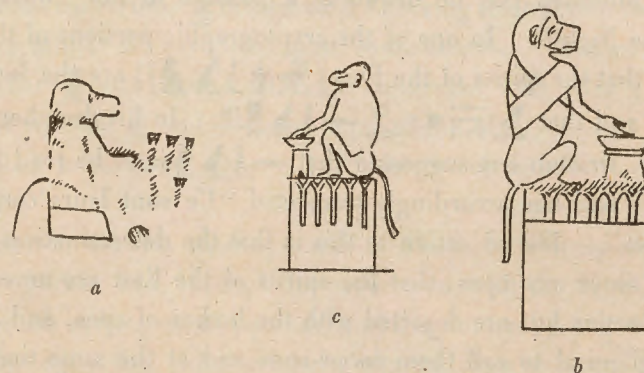
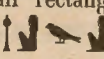


Fig. 54.




hardly likely that the idea could have originated in a cult of the ape which was linked up with that of the Five Gods. It may be suggested that perhaps there was at Hermopolis a cult of an ape who bore a name so similar to “5” that in course of time a pun on “five” was made and from this, in ways still unknown to us, the whole idea of the cult of the Five Gods in special association with the cult of the ape may have developed.

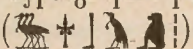

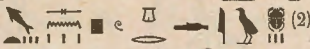


Faint and uncertain hints are not lacking that this may have been the case. In the tomb of Petosiris one of the nine apes that praise *Rē*<sup>c</sup>


<sup>(1)</sup> KEES, *op. cit.*, 62. At Edfu an ape seated on a tall rectangular pedestal bears the name  (I, 533, 7 = XII, Pl. 367).

<sup>(2)</sup> AHMED BEY KAMAL in *Annales du Service*, 7, 234.












<sup>(3)</sup> III, 250, 10.


when he enters the Dē'et is named \*<sup>(1)</sup>. Lefebvre translated this as "le matinal", which is indeed not impossible, but it seems somewhat strange that the "morning ape" should praise Rē in the evening and it is permissible to wonder whether the word may not be a nisbe *diwy* from *diw* "five" and whether *diw*, *diwy* may not have been the name of the ape, just as we have already seen (p. 259) that \* is a name of Osiris. Moreover, in Fig. 54(a) the arrangement of the numeral  before the seated ape is strange and may perhaps indicate that the ape is only the determinative of the name *diw*.




Finally, attention may be drawn to a passage in the "Book of the Day and the Night". In one of the cryptographic portions of this work it is stated that the spirits of the East () are the *bntyw*-apes () and that  (2). In his decipherment of this text Dr. Drioton has suggested that  is to be read *špyw* for *hpyw* (*hprw*) and has accordingly translated "Ce sont leurs corps aussi les scarabées". The objection to this is that the determinatives of *bꜥw* *ꜥbtyw* and *bntyw* are apes, that the spirits of the East are never shown as scarab beetles but are depicted with the bodies of apes, and it seems somewhat illogical to call them *bntyw*-apes and at the same time assign them the bodies of beetles. This difficulty disappears if we assume that the scribe has made an error and if we emend , which would permit us to translate "their bodies also are those of apes". It would not be the first or the last time that the scribe of the "Book of the Day and the Night" had made an error.


The last two paragraphs are admittedly highly speculative and it is for the reader to decide for himself whether this argument is well founded and worthy of belief. Nevertheless, even if this argument is not valid, there still remains so much indisputable evidence of the association of the ape with "five" that there is no obvious reason why the ape should not have borne or have acquired the value *diw*. I suggest, accordingly, that in the Ptolemaic period  acquired the values *d*, *d(d)* from the word *diw*, which may be an ancient name of the ape.



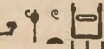
<sup>(1)</sup> LEFEBVRE, *Petosiris*, II, 46 (Inscr. 71 b). — <sup>(2)</sup> PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, 89.



It may, perhaps, be objected that  *diw* would give *d* and not *d*, but here we are on very insecure ground. The question of the relations of  and  and the changes which they underwent is very difficult and one that urgently requires detailed study. Sethe long ago quoted words in which an original  became <sup>(1)</sup> and in Ptolemaic we have a very clear example of the same phenomenon in  itself, which, like , is a common writing of  *dd*, "say" (*xw*). If  *d* could represent *dd*, there seems no reason why , which could also represent *dd*, could not have acquired this value through  from *diw*.

The facts concerning  exhibit such a striking relationship or parallelism that they cannot all have been mere coincidences. Thus we can see:—

- (a) that  was beyond all doubt connected with "five",
- (b) that both  and  were equivalents of *dd*,
- (c) that both these signs either directly or indirectly embody the idea "five",
- (d) that of the two chief symbols of Thoth at Hermopolis, the ibis, the more recent one, through its connection with the Eight, was used in Ptolemaic writing as an equivalent of the numeral 8 (e.g. VII, 13, 2), while the ape, the older symbol, was in close connection with the number 5<sup>(2)</sup> and probably with the Five Gods.

These parallelisms and the facts set out above cannot be due to mere chance. It would be foolish to claim that the origin of  *d*, *dd* in *diw* has been proved beyond all dispute, there are still too many gaps and uncertainties in the chain of reasoning, but this explanation does at least take into consideration and in part explain a whole series of clearly related facts which still remain without explanation if we seek to derive this value from *Dhwti*. I am very conscious of the objections to this suggestion, but they are much less than the objections to seeing in *Dhwti* the word of origin.

XXX. , however, may also be monoconsonantal in  *hdt* "white crown" (VI, 295, 3). Cf. also  (V, 187, 14; cf. VII, 195, 1) *tpht wd kꜥw*, an epithet of Maat.

<sup>(1)</sup> SETHE, *Verbum*, I, §§ 305, 310, 311. — <sup>(2)</sup> To the best of my knowledge  in never used instead of  or \* to denote the number 5.



XXXI. This use clearly originates in the conception of the leg (𐍎) of an animal as the equivalent of the human arm. *Hps* and 𐍎 are so similar in meaning that in many cases it is difficult to decide in which way 𐍎 is to be read. There are, however, a number of cases in which 𐍎 is the only possible reading, e.g. 𐍎𐍎 (VII, 4, 4) *r-c dt*, "to the limits of eternity".

XXXII. The value *im* for 𐍎 is well attested in cryptograms of the New Kingdom<sup>(1)</sup>. The precise origin of the value *im* is quite uncertain. Possibly it may be derived from a word *im*, "skin" now lost<sup>(2)</sup>, or it may have originated in a rebus similar to that by which 𐍎 (*Urk.*, IV, 46, 14; 49, 7) and 𐍎 (SPIEGELBERG-NORTHAMPTON, *Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 10\*; the exact form does not exist in the fount and represents a fledgling, 𐍎, in an egg) became *im*, or on the similarity in the meaning of *im* and *m-hnw*. In many cases in which 𐍎 is written at Edfu it is not easy to decide whether one should construe it as *im* or the compound preposition (𐍎)-*hnw*, but there are several clear examples, e.g. 𐍎𐍎 (VI, 307, 10) *imyw pt*, "those who are in the sky", and 𐍎𐍎 (VI, 307, 11-12). See Additional Note 3 on p. 285

XXXIII. It is worthy of note that the only examples known to me of 𐍎 replacing 𐍎 occur when 𐍎 closes the syllable.

XXXIV. The fact that 𐍎 is occasionally equivalent to 𐍎 was first brought to notice by Piehl in *PSBA*, 14 (1892), 139-140, with an additional note on p. 141. Piehl quoted the examples (c), (f) and (g) below. The following are all the examples of this value known to me.

(a) 𐍎𐍎 (V, 312, 2) "at seeing his beauty when he appears as king of the people".

(b) 𐍎𐍎 (V, 279, 18) "who beautifies the temples with his beauties".

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. GRAPOW in *ZÄS.*, 72, 27, and DRIOTON, *L'Écriture énigmatique* in PIAN-KOFF, *op. cit.*, 85, and 110, § 13.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf., however, 𐍎𐍎 *im*, a

word of uncertain meaning of which I can only quote one example (LEPSIUS, *Das Totenbuch der Aegypter*, 165, 7).

(c) 𐍎𐍎 (V, 7, 3) "may he give him (*d̄i-f n̄f*) valour, might and power". It seems very unlikely that 𐍎 here can itself be *n̄f* and the normal usage in similar contexts renders it improbable that we have here a *sdm-n̄f* (*d̄i-n̄f n̄f*).

(d) 𐍎𐍎 (I, 289, 3-4 = xi, Pl. 319) "a lotus came forth in which was a youth who illumines this land with his beams; there was vomited forth a lotusbud (?) in which was a little maid (*lit.* dwarf maiden) whom the Shining One delights to see". The parallelism between 𐍎𐍎 and 𐍎𐍎 is a clear indication that we must read *im-f* and that the translation "in which was a beautiful child" (Boylan, *Thoth*, 117) cannot be upheld. 𐍎𐍎 is unknown to me elsewhere, and while the general meaning is clear the exact transliteration is uncertain. Boylan's suggestion that it is an error for *prh* is hardly possible owing to the feminine pronoun in *m-hnt-s*.

(e) 𐍎𐍎 (V, 373, 9) "the whole land is bright when thou shinest", unless 𐍎 is an error for 𐍎, which does not appear to be very probable.

(f) 𐍎𐍎 (V, 4, 6) "Horus of Behdet, great god, lord of heaven, he shines in heaven".

(g) 𐍎𐍎 (II, 196, 13 : not collated) "I give thee Punt and what is in it".

Another much less certain example occurs in 𐍎𐍎 (VI, 191, 21) *mnfyt*, "soldiery", for it is possible to take 𐍎 as either *f* or *nf*. Perhaps the scribe was influenced, wrongly, by 𐍎𐍎, *mnst*, "arm band".

The exact process by which 𐍎 could give rise to *f* is uncertain, but there is an interesting phenomenon which should not be overlooked in this connection. Sethe<sup>(1)</sup> has drawn attention to certain Egyptian

<sup>(1)</sup> SETHE, *Kurznamen auf j* in *ZÄS.*, 57, 77. Further examples quoted in SETHE, *Noch einmal zu den Kurznamen auf j* (*ZÄS.*, 59, 71) and JUNKER, *Die Stele des Hofarztes 'Irj* (*ZÄS.*, 63, 59

ff.). I am grateful to Mr. Grdseloff for drawing my attention to the connection of these with the problem under discussion and for giving me the examples quoted in the next two notes.

nicknames (*rn nfr*) which are formed either by repeating one element of the full name or by giving that element in a modified form. In names in which *nfr* formed a part, and which were not quoted by Sethe, the diminutive of *nfr* is  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$ . Thus we find a woman  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (1) "Neferirues, whose 'good name' is Fefi", and a man  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (2) "Ni'ankhsneferu, whose 'good name' is Fefi". There can be little doubt that in origin these two usages are not unrelated.

XXXV. Compare also the writing of  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  for  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  *wšm* in  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (VI, 178, 8-9) "I gore the bodies of thy enemies" and  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (VI, 178, 13-14) "I gore with my horns him who plots against thee". Cf. also the pun on *khh* in  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (VI, 178, 15) "I gore him who comes against thee with evil intent". An alternative translation would be "I gore him who comes against thee as Seth (*khh*)". It is possible that  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  here is equivalent to *b*, from the frequent epithet of Seth as *B* (e.g.  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$ , VI, 121, 10) but I have refrained from listing it as a possible monoeonsonantal sign since it is doubtful, and I suspect that  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  is merely the ideogram *khh* with  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  as phonetic complements: cf. also Notes XVIII and LV.

XXXVI. The suggestion that *f* is derived from  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  was first put forward by Sethe (3). This appears to be as certain as any suggestion could be, for it is obvious, simple and direct and the closeness between Coptic  $\alpha\eta$  and *f* ( $\alpha$ ) is too striking easily to be ignored. More recently however, Drioton has suggested that this value was obtained by acrophony from  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  *fdk*, "portion" (4); it is difficult to see why so common a value should have been derived from so uncommon and distant a word when a much more obvious and simple word, *wf*, is the normal term for "meat, flesh", particularly since *fdk* is not specifically a portion of

(1) BLACKMAN, *Meir*, IV, Pl. 15.

(2) DE MORGAN, *Dahchour* (1894-5), p. 13.

(3) SETHE, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*,

117.

(4) *Annales du Service*, 41, 130, note 1, and in PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, 105.

meat, but a portion of anything, even a portion of a country (1). Dr. Drioton has apparently been impelled to seek an acrophonic origin for this value as a result of the false assumption that  $\epsilon$  obtained the value *w* by acrophony from  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  *w'bt*, "piece of meat". The chain of argument hardly seems logical or proven, and, moreover, there is no necessity to derive *w* from *w'bt*, for there is another more simple and direct explanation ready to hand.

One of the most frequent difficulties that faces the copyist of Ptolemaic texts is to decide in many cases whether the original has  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ . Particularly in texts where the signs are small, it is often impossible to decide which sign has been used, because the two signs are often so similar that on a small scale it is impossible to disentangle them. I have frequently been faced with this problem when working on Edfu texts from the original or from photographs and when copying other texts, especially those on stelae, of the Late Period (2). There is no doubt that the ancient scribes met with the same difficulty and in fact the sculptor in many instances may genuinely have attempted to cut  $\epsilon$  and only succeeded in making a small sign that resembled  $\epsilon$  as much as  $\epsilon$ .

It is necessary, moreover, to take into account the fact that  $\epsilon$  itself is a frequent substitute for  $\epsilon f$  (see No. 316 *d*). Here there can be no question of *w'bt* or any other word, and the only explanation is confusion between the two signs. This explanation is confirmed by such phrases as  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (VI, 94, 2) "hundreds and tens of days", where  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  is clearly an error for the correct  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (cf. IV, 49, 1), and the only explanation is confusion between  $\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon$  (3).
















(1) Cf. Carnarvon Tablet No. 1, line 3 = *JEA.*, 3, Pl. 13. See also Gardiner's note in *PSBA.*, 36 (1914), 73.


(2) A particularly instructive text is Cairo J.E. 46341 (see *Annales du Service*, 18, 113-158) in which it is frequently quite impossible to distinguish the two signs from each other.





(3) The difficulty of distinguishing  $\epsilon$







from  $\epsilon$  on the original frequently led older copyists into error. Thus, to quote only one example, von Bergmann in his *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, XLIV, LXIX gave  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  for  $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \text{𓏏}$  (VI, 156, 1; 235, 6) *imi s'twt*, an epithet of Horus (cf. KEES in *ZÄS.*, 64, 107-112). Examples of this understandable type of error could easily be multiplied.

These considerations all lead to the conclusion that there is no need to seek further than *wf* for the value *f* borne by *ε*, and that *ε* was used for *ε* and *vice-versa* through confusion between the two signs owing to their similarity, especially when written small.



XXXVII. It is possible to argue that the origin is  *bik*, "falcon" but this is quite unconvincing and I do not believe it.  and  are very common writings of *b*ḥ, "soul, spirit" of which many examples could be quoted: e.g.  *b*ḥ *tkk* (III, 80, 5; cf. VI, 72, 15; 107, 5; VIII, 20, 10; 21, 4, etc.);  *b*ḥ *šps* (VIII, 23, 9)  *b*ḥ *n R'* (VI, 93, 11.13);  *b*ḥ *nh n R'* (VI, 102, 3);    *b*ḥ *w ntrw* (VII, 5, 2). Although I have not made a thorough statistical survey, I have the firm impression that at Edfu  and  are the normal determinatives of *b*ḥ and that they occur much more frequently than  and its variants. There is therefore no need to seek further than *b*ḥ for the origin of the value *b* that both  and  so frequently bear.





XXXVIII. Hence  is *pn*, "this" (VII, 3, 4).





XXXIX. This example must be considered as exceedingly doubtful. Chassinat (VIII, 5, note) notes that the bottom of the sign is missing and marks the whole sign as doubtful. Unless independent confirmation is forthcoming, therefore, this example should not be used as evidence. There is no doubt, however, that a sign equivalent to  originally stood here, for this is abundantly clear from the context    *n(n) wn hr byf*, "there is none like unto him". See Additional Note 4 on p. 285.










XL.  acts as a substitute for *nm* as a result of misinterpretation of the hieratic form of  <sup>(1)</sup>. This simple misunderstanding had typically Egyptian results. Starting with the writings with  as in  *nmst* "nmst-vase", the automatic development was the separation of the signs composing  as in  *hnm*, "odour, scent". The logical result of this was that the origin


<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Spiegelberg's review of JUNKER, *Grammatik der Denderatexte* in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1908, 123.











of  in  tended to be forgotten and the way was open to a variety of writings:









(a)  or  was substituted for the original , as in  (IV, 50, 4) *hnm*, "odour";



(b)  or  was interpreted as simple , as in  (IV, 62, 9) *hnm*, "smell"; or

(c)  and  coalesced, as in  (V, 89, 6), var.  (III, 130, 15) *h(n)nty*, "nostrils". In the case of such writings as  (IV, 138, 11) it is uncertain whether  was still considered to be equivalent to  or was regarded as simple . I am inclined to favour the latter view, as in  (VII, 230, 1) *d;mw*, "generations", and recommend the transliteration *h(n)nty*.


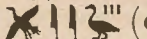





XLI. I have failed to find a single well authenticated instance at Edfu in which this sign is equivalent to .


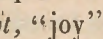
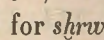

XLII. One's first impulse is to seek for the origin of this value in *bnw*, "phoenix", but second thoughts will show that all is not quite so simple. At Edfu,  is not the normal or general ideogram or determinative of *bnw*, which is the similar but quite distinctive sign  (cf.  VII, 308, 2) <sup>(1)</sup>.  itself is a very common Ptolemaic variant of the earlier , and its commonest value is *ḥ*. The group  is generally to be read *ḥt*, "field" but sometimes it is *t*, "land" (cf. V, 85, 10 and V, 45, 3).  with the value *b* is rare, and the most probable explanation of this value is that the ancient scribes confused  and . This conclusion appears to be borne out by  (No. 182).



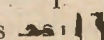

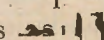
XLIII. The origin of this value is quite uncertain. It may, perhaps, be imagined that a species of duck or goose was called *w*, but no such name has come down to us. It is possible also that the value arose through confusion between  and . A hint that this is so is found in a variant at Dendera in  (MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, IV, 40) where the second  is clearly a substitute for  *sr*. Dr. Drioton has drawn attention to other cases in which  replaces ,  and other birds <sup>(2)</sup>.





<sup>(1)</sup> But  is sometimes the ideogram *bnw*, e.g.  (VIII, 145, 8; cf. VIII, 107, 13) *bnw ntri*.



<sup>(2)</sup> DRIOTON, *L'Écriture énigmatique* in PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, 105, § 12.


XLIV. Perhaps also in  (VII, 82, 7) "birds". This must be considered somewhat doubtful since a word  (cf. VI, 56, 13) occurs not infrequently, but the writing with  and the parallel phrase in VII, 82, 2 speak against reading *p:yw* in this case. The word  *hyw* (*h:yw*), which I have suggested as the origin of this value, occurs frequently at Edfu, but almost always in the plural. It does not appear to be known to the *Wörterbuch*. It may be objected that  does not occur as the determinative of this word, but  is so well-established as the normal determinative of birds, replacing  and other forms, that this is hardly a real objection, though it must not be ignored entirely.

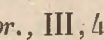


XLV.  in the Late Period must have been equivalent to  $\omega\epsilon$ , and thus Ptolemaic could write  (V, 2, 6) for *ršwt*, "joy" ( $\rho\lambda\omega\epsilon$ ), and  (IV, 5, 7; note the exceptional var. , VI, 21, 2) for *shrw*, "counsel, plans". The latter survives in Coptic in  $\bar{p}\omega\bar{y}\omega\bar{y}$  =  $\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{y}\bar{\omega}$ , which indicates the development, with assimilation of *s* and *š*, \**siher*) \**siše*) \**šišē*) \**šišī*.






XLVI. At first sight this value appears to be extraordinary and inexplicable. I owe the following suggestion, which I think is almost certainly correct, to my friend Dr. J. Černý. , the feather obtains the general meaning of "wing" and hence by rebus that of the "arm" of the bird (cf. Notes XLVII and XXXI). A further extension of the pun gave the "wing" the meaning of "side", and in this way  acquired the value *gs*, both as ideogram and phonogram, which it bears so frequently in texts of the Late Period. Late Egyptian, however, uses  *rīt* instead of *gs*, "side", and Černý suggests that the Ptolemaic scribe may have equated  with  and thus have obtained the value *r* on the consonantal principle. Ptolemaic, not unnaturally owing to its archaizing tendency, normally uses *gs* for "side", but *rīt* clearly was not forgotten.

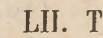
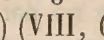
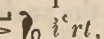
XLVII. , as has been indicated in the preceding note, is regarded as the whole "wing" of the bird and hence as its "arm" () in much the same way as  and  came to be identified (see Note XXXI).



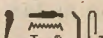


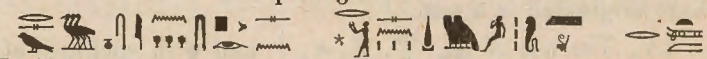













XLVIII.  and  are often made so alike in form that they are frequently indistinguishable the one from the other (cf. IV, 62, note 5).

XLIX. Sethe<sup>(1)</sup> derived *s* from  *swht*, "egg". Ultimately this may be so, since *s*ʒ, "son", i.e. he who is in the egg, he who comes from the egg, is derived by rebus from *swht*, "egg", but there is no reason to doubt that the immediate origin was  $\bullet s$ ʒ, "son", which was well-established from the New Kingdom onwards. Note that *swht*, "egg" is sometimes synonymous with "child, son" (cf. IV, 303, 10; V, 185, 1).

L. Cf. also  (*Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, III, 411) and  as a name of  (JÉQUIER, *Frises d'Objets*, 14).

LI.  acts here as a variant of , . Cf.  (VII, 269, 7) as feminine of   $\omega$  in an epithet of a goddess.

LII. This value probably originated in some such name or epithet as  *ʒt*, name of a goddess (PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, 30). Cf.  (VIII, 66, 8), an epithet of Hathor (as *uræus*?). A possible alternative may be  *ʒrt*, "uræus", but this is not very convincing.

LIII: The value *n* () for  is suggested by  (IV, 11, 11) *n tw-sn*, "without number". If, however,  is to be read  it is, I think, impossible to translate the passage in which it occurs without emendation:  \*               

The origin of this value is quite uncertain. It might be suggested that and may be variants of and become *n* by acrophony from the value *nrt*, "goddess" so frequently borne by (1). In the present case, however, this is not a satisfactory solution, partly because though very common, is never either or at Edfu, partly because I know of no instances in which and either have the value *nrt* or act as determinatives to that word or to the name of any goddess, and partly because it fails to explain why their employment should apparently be restricted to being equivalents of . The only suggestion I have to offer is that *n* is perhaps derived ultimately from , a frequent equivalent of in the titulary of Hathor (cf. ZÄS., 43, 120) which perhaps may have been construed as a variant of *iwnyt*, but this is a somewhat wild speculation and I have no particular confidence in it. It is wiser to consider the problem as still unsolved.

LIV. While is clearly the immediate origin of the value *t*, we still seem to be as far as ever from discovering how itself came to be *t*. This is one of the oldest and most obstinate puzzles of late hieroglyphic and I have no suggestion to offer beyond the feeling that it may have originated in a pun.

LV. The use of , , , , , and in spellings of the Egyptian word for Khemmis presents us with a problem of no little complexity and interest. Since some of the spellings I am able to quote were not employed by Sethe in his study of this word (2), it may be of interest to quote such examples as I have collected and briefly to set out the nature of the problem. It must be emphasised, however, that I have not listed all the examples of this word that occur at Edfu and that the following examples do not necessarily exhaust all the possible variant spellings, and therefore no arguments on statistical grounds can be drawn from them. The following remarks aim rather at stating the nature of the problem than at giving the final solution.

The main outlines of the history of this word are clear. The original form was *h-biti*, which was modified, by the omission of weak consonants,

(1) Cf. JUNKER, *Schriftsystem*, 7, and DRIOTON in *Annales du Service*, 41, 116. See also *Annales du Service*, 40, 333. — (2) ZÄS., 30, 113-119.

into *hb(y)*. This modified form, by the change of *b* into *m*, led to the Greek forms *χεμμis*, *χεμβis*. All these stages can be observed at Edfu :

(a) *Historical writing.*

- |                          |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1.  (III, 24, 8; 193, 3) | 5.  (VII, 24, 4) |
| 2.  (V, 209, 9)          | 6.  (VII, 78, 1) |
| 3.  (VI, 298, 9)         | 7.  (IV, 145, 7) |
| 4.  (VI, 238, 5)         | 8.  (VI, 214, 9) |

(b) *Intermediate stage.*

- |                                |                           |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 9.  (VI, 74, 2)                | 15.  (VI, 138, 5; 301, 2) |
| 10.  (VI, 298, 3)              | 16.  (III, 15, 3)         |
| 11.  (III, 191, 11)            | 17.  (III, 135, 5)        |
| 12.  (V, 338, 9)               | 18.  (VII, 124, 2)        |
| 13.  (III, 135, 4; VI, 187, 7) | 19.  (V, 236, 8)          |
| 14.  (VI, 149, 1; 219, 6)      | 20.  (VII, 65, 9)         |




(c) *Transition to Khemmis.*

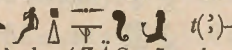

- |                    |                                  |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 21.  (V, 255, 12)  | 26.  (III, 311, 4)               |
| 22.  (VI, 299, 2)  | 27.  (III, 193, 4; Mam., 55, 18) |
| 23.  (III, 103, 1) | 28.  (VIII, 132, 16)             |
| 24.  (VI, 87, 4)   | 29.  (Mam., 56, 16)              |
| 25.  (III, 135, 8) | 30.  (VI, 238, 14)               |





All the writings in class (c) are based on signs which, originally at least, included *m*. In 21-26 the original value of the signs , ( is an error for ) and is *hm*, which has become *hm* by phonetic change, while , which must be equivalent to *i* or *it*, gives a hint of a weak ending as in 19 and 20. In 27-30 itself has the value *hm*, from (IV, 320, 7) *hmv*, "children". It may be remarked here that this is the only hieroglyphic example of this word known to

me, though it is known from Demotic and Coptic<sup>(1)</sup>. The spellings of class (c) clearly offer strong grounds for considering that *ḥ-biū* and *ḥb(y)* had already acquired the value *hm*.

If this be so, what vocalisation do the variants in class (b) represent? Are they to be transliterated as *ḥb(y)* or *hm(y)*? It is just possible, of course, that in this word the transition from *b* to *m* was so recent that forms with either *b* or *m* could be used, but this is somewhat improbable since 3, 10 and 22 all occur in the same text, as do 13, 17 and 25. Particularly instructive are 9 and 24 which occur in identical sentences uttered by Isis in the course of the dramatic section of the Myth of Horus<sup>(2)</sup>. These two sentences must surely have been pronounced in the same way, and therefore it appears that ] and † have the value *m* in spellings of this word. My preliminary and tentative conclusion, therefore, is that throughout the period covered by the texts at Edfu the Egyptian word that was originally spelled *ḥ-biū* had the value *hm*.




It still remains to decide how  and the other variants in class (a) are to be analysed. It is obvious that in their present form they are to be explained as mechanical reproductions of historical, early writings and that their pronunciation, if they were ever pronounced<sup>(3)</sup>, must have been akin to that of the variants in classes (b) and (c). The question arises, therefore, did the scribes regard these writings as a phonetic transcription of the current pronunciation? If so, was it realised that the position of  was due to honorific pre-position and that  was in reality the first element?




<sup>(1)</sup> It may be remarked that in the personal name -  *t(ḥ)-sr̄it-p(ḥ)-di-Mn-t(ḥ)-hm* (ZAS., 50, 42, and Pl. 3, 2 b) the demotic version shows that  had the value *hm*.


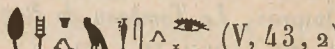



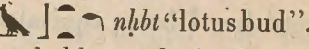

<sup>(2)</sup>  =  (VI, 74, 2);  =  (VI, 87, 3-4). See the note on these passages in the translation and commentary on the dramatic text (VI, 60-90) by Professor A. M. Blackman and


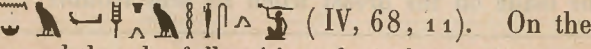

the writer which will be published in JEA., vols. 29 and 30.



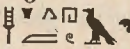
<sup>(3)</sup> It should be observed that there is no need to assume that these writings ever were pronounced. The majority of them only occur in divine titles and in such contexts as make it appear very improbable that they were actually spoken. Only in 1 (III, 193, 3, but not III, 24, 8) and 7 is there any likelihood that these words were uttered by an officiating priest.



These are questions that it is difficult to answer with finality. It is true that if these were genuine phonetic transcriptions, it would be a simple matter to justify , ,  on the consonantal principle whatever the position it be imagined that they occupied in the word. Nevertheless, I make no attempt to append any such justification, for such procedure seems to savour too much of a game. I have the very strong personal impression that all the writings of class (a) are merely graphic, that if they ever were pronounced they were pronounced in accordance with the current vocalisation, and that the scribes never attempted to analyse them further. This is by no means a rare phenomenon in any language. In English, for instance, the pronunciation of the personal names Marjoribanks and Beauchamp, to mention only two, differs considerably from their spelling, yet when the need arises one utters them automatically without a thought for their spelling. Similarly, we may write *i.e.* or *e.g.* where we would always read out or say "that is, that is to say" or "for example" without a thought for their origin in *id est* and *exempli gratia*.




LVI. ,  is the Ptolemaic form of  (GARDINER, *Grammar*, p. 468, Sign List L. 6.





LVII. , which is not of common occurrence, is used as a negative in a few stereotyped phrases of the form  (V, 43, 2) "there is no withstanding his attack". Here it is clear that  is equivalent to Middle Egyptian , Late Egyptian  and Coptic MN, it is not monoconsonantal and cannot be derived from  *nḥbi* "lotus bud". I owe to Mr. Grdseloff the suggestion that the probable word of origin is to be found in  *wnb* "lotus bud" (the exact form of the determinative does not occur in the fount: for the history of this word see Blok's remarks in *Acta Orientalia*, 8 (1930), 232), by phonetic change and metathesis.




It may be objected, perhaps, that  is to be read *nḥm* and that is not impossible in view of  (IV, 68, 11). On the other hand, it may be argued that the full writing *nḥm* is due to editing by a scribe who misunderstood the true function of , that when *nḥm* is to

read it is usually written with a determinative,  (V, 399, 1), and that the use of this phrase in the negative is well authenticated, e. g.  (IV, 123, 6). Moreover, the negative is usually written in phrases of somewhat similar import, e. g.  (IV, 80, 13).










The solitary instance known to me of the lotus bud replacing  occurs in  (V, 255, 6) "who overthrows the enemies of Horus in the Banks' (i. e. Egypt)". This value developed from *mn* in accordance with the Consonantal Principle as defined below p. 297.



It is as well to point out here that although at various points in the Sign List I have indicated signs that acted as negatives (particularly Nos. 122-126), this should not be construed as an attempt to prejudge the thorny question of the reading of  and the other equivalents of the negative at Edfu. This is a long and complicated question and I do not yet possess a sufficiently complete documentation to give a final ruling. It is certain, however, that there are many instances in which  and the other signs which act for it are equivalent to .


LVIII. On the change of  into  $\kappa$ , cf. DÉVAUD, *Études de Lexicographie égyptienne et copte* in *Kémi* 2, 11-12, where it is suggested that at Edfu  (I, 489, 16), is equivalent to  $\tau\eta\kappa$  "fat". For an example from the Twentieth Dynasty cf.  for  (BAUD and DRIOTON, *Le Tombeau de Roj*, p. 30; cf. GRAPOW in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse), 28 (1938), 330, note 1). See also SETHE, *Verbum*, I, § 255.





LIX. Dr. Drioton<sup>(1)</sup> has suggested that  (VI, 133, 1) is to be read *hpr*,  being equivalent to *h*. An examination of the context shows that this reading cannot be sustained. The word in question occurs at the beginning of Section B of the Myth of Horus<sup>(2)</sup>. The Legend of the Winged Disk (Section A of the myth)<sup>(3)</sup> concludes with a series of explanations of the winged beetle and other divinities and with a description of a powerful charm for the protection of the king with the words  (VI, 131, 3) "a winged beetle in writing shall be made on his breast when he sees trouble". It is these words that


<sup>(1)</sup> In PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, 105, note 2. — <sup>(2)</sup> *JEA.*, 21, 26. — <sup>(3)</sup> *JEA.*, 21, 26 ff.; VI, 109-131.




are immediately taken up at the beginning of Section B of the myth:  (VI, 133, 1), which is followed immediately by *dd mdw* and the cartouche of the king. It is clear therefore that these words introduce a new section, but refer back to something previously mentioned. In order to indicate this, these words are preceded by , and it is not possible to start with *hpr* alone, quite apart from the fact that *hpr n ktm* is not the normal phrase. It is necessary therefore to analyse  as  as an equivalent of  (VI, 131, 1) and to read *ir p(?) bb*<sup>(1)</sup>. The whole passage is accordingly to be translated "Concerning the winged beetle of best quality gold (*ktm mnh*) on a piece of "god's cloth" which the king placed at his throat when he saw trouble and strife". The positions of  and  were inverted in order to give a better grouping, cf.  (VII, 10, 4) for  (VI, 13, 14) in *Imn*.










LX. The origin of this value is uncertain. Possibly it is due to a pun, , representing a small tract of land or a field with reeds, may have been interpreted as  *w*, "district" and thus have acquired the value *w*. This is pure supposition which I am unable to prove.










LXI.  was undoubtedly biliteral originally and had the value *mn*, but whether it actually retained this value in Ptolemaic texts or whether it has become simple *n* in certain cases is quite problematical. I am inclined to suspect that it had become monoconsonantal *n*, but pending a detailed survey of the circumstances in which the sign is used, it is best to leave the question open.





LXII.  is considerably more common in this sense than , which is somewhat infrequent.  is equivalent to *h* in  (III, 107, 5).

LXIII. The sign represents a block of stone (normal value *inr*) and is different from  (No. 247), for which, however, it acts as an occasional substitute. The comparatively few examples which I have noted all come from vols. V and VIII, particularly the former.








<sup>(1)</sup>  is the correct ideogram and determinative of 'bb but  occurs not infrequently, e.g.  (*Mam.*, 146, 13).










LXIV. It is possible, but not very probable, that  here and in the numerous variants is biconsonantal *it* and that  (or the signs that replace  in the variants) is the phonetic complement. In suggesting that  is monoconsonantal *I* have been influenced by the following considerations: (a) by the Ptolemaic Period the feminine ending must certainly have disappeared; (b) in spellings of *itn*  is never clearly biconsonantal or accompanied only by *n*, but is always followed by signs equivalent to *t* and *n*; this seems to indicate that the spellings are fully alphabetic; (c) the use of  in    (III, 135, 8) and other spellings of Khemmis (cf. the variants listed in Note LV).







LXV. Cf. the rare variant    (VIII, 118, 10) *wn mw*, “be disloyal” and    (VIII, 132, 3) *hṯp hr mw*, “be loyal”. Note the rare spelling    *mw* (Cairo 565 (Dyn. XXIV) = BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten*, II, 115); I owe this reference to Mr. Grdseloff. See also DRIOTON, *Annales du Service*, 41, 108, 109.


LXVI.  is to be distinguished from  (No. 243), see Note LXIII.  is the early form of  (No. 248), which is the normal and most frequent Ptolemaic form.


LXVII. Comparatively rare at Edfu, but common in Dendera texts.



LXVIII. Cf.     (Pyr. 1162) and    (COUYAT-MONTET, *Hammamat*, p. 32 (No. 1, 6) = Pl. 3).












LXIX. Confusion between  and  is not common at Edfu, but in other sources where the signs are small or the scribe prone to carelessness they are frequently apt to interchange. Cf.    (Urk., II, 51, 8) for *nhm* “rejoice” and  (VII, 290, 3) for , and  for  (Urk., II, 191, 8 and often). See Additional Note 7 on p. 286.















LXX. In   (IV, 152, 5) *nhn*, “stripling”, however,  is probably *nhn*, the original value of this sign as a variant of , the two  being the phonetic complements. While the origin suggested here is the most direct and simple explanation, it is not impossible that in giving the value *h* to this sign the scribes were influenced by  (No. 233 b).
















LXXI. Cf. the somewhat similar  *wsrt* (DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte*, 43, 4, quoted by JUNKER, *Schriftsystem*, 29).

LXXII. The monoconsonantal nature of  in spellings of *h'w* is rather uncertain, and it may be biliteral. However, in view of the tendency

for  to weaken or fall away when followed or preceded by , it is not impossible that in this word it is equivalent to simple *h*. Cf. Notes IV and LXXVI.

LXXIII. Two clear instances are known to me:    (III, 133, 1) “on which I shine”<sup>(1)</sup>, and    (III, 190, 12) “with my fingers”. A rather doubtful example is    (*Mam.*, 80, 12) “like my Majesty”, where it is a moot point whether  is the determinative of *hm*, the suffix being omitted, or whether  is itself the suffix.

Two further uncertain examples may be mentioned.     (I, 217, 13-14 = XI, Pl. 289, 14 = JUNKER, *Stundenwachen*, XVIII, 83, p. 118) “I have opened a way to my brother” (or alternatively, Junker’s translation, “Horus has opened for me a way to my brother”), where once again  may be either the suffix pronoun (in this case, however, 1st. pers. sing. fem.) or the determinative of *sn*, the suffix not being expressed. Similar doubts exist in      (I, 208, 5 = XI, Pl. 293) “I give thee my office, my seat, my throne and my possessions in this land”: here it is uncertain whether  is the suffix (*m* being omitted), or whether  is the suffix,  being an error for .

LXXIV. The real origin of this value has yet to be found, but it may be suggested that it is probably to be sought in a name, now lost, of the -headdress. It is not inappropriate, however, to draw attention to a word which has not been mentioned in this connection. A stela of the Ethiopian Period mentions a headdress   (Urk., III, 139, 6) or      (Urk., III, 146, 7); cf. also    (JÉQUIER, *Frises d'Objets*, 7). Is it impossible for the value *k* to have originated in this word through the transition of  to  (*κ*)? (cf. Note LVIII). The obvious objection to this suggestion is that since  is such a common equivalent of *k*, one would have expected to have found at least one or two examples of a word . Although no such word is known, this suggestion may be worthy of consideration in default of a better.

<sup>(1)</sup> The context shows that the translation “on which the god shines” is not possible.

<sup>(2)</sup> The form employed in the original differs slightly, the uraeus having two small horns.



LXXV. In its most elaborate form this sign represents a folded piece of cloth with fringe combined with  $\text{𓆎}$ <sup>(1)</sup>. It is essentially a combination of a word-sign or determinative ( $\text{𓆎}$ ) and its phonetic complement ( $\text{𓆎}$ ), the complete word undoubtedly being  $\text{st}t$ <sup>(2)</sup>. This analysis, if correct, would explain how  $\text{𓆎}$  itself could occasionally have the value  $s$  (see No. 313 b).

LXXVI. Ptolemaic scribes often confuse  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆏}$ . The two forms are much alike and if a careless scribe omits the cross-strokes, as he frequently does particularly in the early parts of the temple, they are indistinguishable.

LXXVII. The  $\text{𓆎}$  which occurs so frequently in spellings of  $\text{hwd}$  "enrich" and related words, while possibly indicating a weakening of the original  $d$  (though  $\text{𓆎}$  does not usually have this function), is due to a false orthography on the part of the ancient scribes<sup>(3)</sup>.

LXXVIII. *Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, III, 353 transliterates  $\text{h}tm$  ( $\text{h}t-mn?$ ) and is apparently only aware of examples in which this word means "world". At Edfu, however, a by no means uncommon name of Egypt is  $\text{𓆎}$  (III, 188, 13),  $\text{𓆎}$  (VII, 58, 10)  $\text{h}tm$ , "fortress"<sup>(4)</sup>, with which  $\text{𓆎}$  and its variants are sometimes synonymous.  $\text{𓆎}$  is almost invariably Egypt, the fortress, impregnable, protected, from which the enemy, particularly the enemy from Asia, is repelled or driven out, but it is not always easy to decide whether  $\text{𓆎}$  is to be translated "world" or "fortress" (Egypt). There are, however, a number of clear examples.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. GARDINER, *Grammar*, p. 494, Sign List S. 28.

<sup>(2)</sup>  $\text{𓆎}$  (VI, 56, 10)  $ss$ , "lasso", of which I know only this one example, can hardly be considered as a likely source of the value  $s$ .

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. EDGERTON in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 60, 484, 485.

<sup>(4)</sup> The conception of Egypt as the inviolable, sealed fortress (cf. III, 188, 13) is one of the results of the strong Egyptian nationalistic reaction to foreign

and above all Persian conquest. There is considerable evidence of this nationalism in the texts at Edfu. For Egyptian nationalism at this period see DRIOTON, *Le Nationalisme au temps des Pharaons* in *Revue du Caire*, No. 52 (Mars 1943), 427-438, especially 434-438; GUENTCH-OGLEFF, *Noms propres imprécatives* in *BIFAO.*, 40, 117-133; KEES, *Kultlegende und Urgeschichte in Nachr. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1930, 346 ff.

In the two following examples there can be no doubt that we are to read  $\text{h}tm$ , "fortress":  $\text{𓆎}$  (VIII, 34, 1-2) "thou hast ruled *Pr-wr*, thou hast ruled *Pr-nsr*, thou hast ruled the Fortress, thou hast united the Two Portions which were divided";  $\text{𓆎}$  (VIII, 62, 16-17) "strong<sup>(1)</sup> of arm in the Fortress, hero, great of strength, who protects Egypt from str[ife and guards]<sup>(2)</sup> 'the Fortunate Eye' (Egypt) from evil". Similarly, comparison with such phrases as  $\text{𓆎}$  (VIII, 144, 3) "who repels the enemy from the Fortress", renders it probable that  $\text{h}tm$ , "fortress" is to be read in  $\text{𓆎}$  (VI, 287, 1) "who drives away Be (Seth) from the Fortress", and  $\text{𓆎}$  (VIII, 143, 14) "smiting thy enemies in the Fortress". On the other hand, "world" is possibly but not certainly a better translation than "fortress" in  $\text{𓆎}$  (VII, 170, 8) "thou art come in peace, O prince rich in fields, with numerous meadows in the world", and  $\text{𓆎}$  (VII, 170, 3) "I give thee [many, 's'] fields in the world with all kinds of sweet fruits".

It is clear from the examples quoted that in this word  $\text{𓆎}$ ,  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆎}$  are equivalent to  $m$ . and that we can safely transliterate  $\text{h}tm$ . This conclusion is supported by various spellings of  $\text{h}smn$ , "natron" and its derivatives. The spellings  $\text{𓆎}$  (III, 122, 16) and  $\text{𓆎}$  (VI, 70, 1) are clear indications that they are equivalent to Coptic  $\text{zOCM}$  and that  $\text{𓆎}$  (IV, 61, 13),  $\text{𓆎}$  (VI, 55, 5) etc. are to be transliterated  $\text{h}sm(n)$ .

LXXIX. The distinction drawn here between  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆏}$  and their variants is, I feel, somewhat artificial.  $\text{𓆏}$  appears to be the normal Ptolemaic equivalent of  $\text{M}$ , but Ptolemaic makes no serious effort to distinguish  $\text{𓆎}$  from  $\text{𓆏}$  and both signs are to all intents and purposes fused, and either can equally well represent  $g$ ,  $gr$ ,  $hr$ ,  $nst$  etc. They are so alike in use that I have thought it confusing and needlessly pedantic to separate them still further and to list  $\text{𓆏}$  between Nos. 277 and 278 which, strictly


<sup>(1)</sup> READ  $n's'$ . This is better than  $nšd$ , which does not have the  $\text{𓆎}$  determinative.

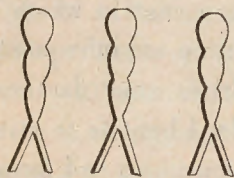
<sup>(2)</sup> READ  $h's[yt swd?]$  B(?)  $kt r b(w)-dw$ .




ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Dr. Drioton, who was kind enough to read the manuscript of this paper and who is not in agreement with much of the theoretical section, has drawn my attention to a number of points, some of which, with his permission, I am glad to quote.

1. Note X, p. 252. Grdseloff, however, points out to me that  as a divine name appears to have existed at an early date and occurs in the



Sixth Dynasty in the personal name  — (“The god”) *I* is his protector” (*Urk.*, I, 113, 16; cf. J. J. CLÈRE, *Notes d’Onomastique* in *Révue d’Égyptologie*, 3, 111, No. 29.

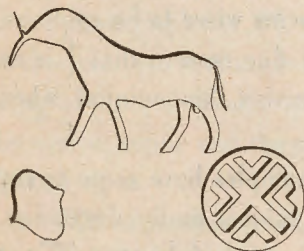









Fig. 55.


2.  (No. 159, p. 223). Although it is generally agreed that  represents an elephant's tusk which presumably had the value *hw.*, no example of this word has yet been discovered. It is now possible, however, to make a suggestion that seems to point more definitely to the existence of this hypothetical *\*hw.* In the XVIIth Lower Egyptian Nome there is a district named  (Sethos I, Abydos : DÜMICHEN, *Geog. Inscr.*, I, pl. 91),   (Sethos I, Gurnah :















BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.*, 1271). With the kind permission of Dr. Drioton I am able to quote the earliest example known to me of this name which occurs on the still unpublished kiosk of Senusret I at Karnak as  (see Fig. 55 which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Abul Naga). Here we apparently have a word *hw* “elephant” which is presumably a nisbe derived from *\*hw* “elephant tusk”. If this suggestion be accepted, it is apposite to quote the analogous English use of “tusker” to describe a grown elephant with developed tusks.


M. A. Varille informs me that traces of a similar spelling of the place name *hw* occur on an unpublished block (Inventory No. K. 1759) of













Amenophis I forming part of a similar nome list. This and other blocks from the same building of Amenophis I (a small peripteral temple similar to the kiosk of Senusret I, cf. VARILLE, *Karnak*, I, 16) were found by Varille reused as foundations in the Temple of Mentu erected by Amenophis III at Karnak.






3.  (No. 162 and Note XXXII, p. 264). Dr. Drioton points out that this usage occurs as early as the Coffin Texts and quotes De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, I, 54 j; 68 a; 121 b.








4.  (No. 172 and Note XXXIX, p. 268). Further consideration of the use of this sign as a negative has revealed certain points which ought to have been obvious to me from the outset.





If  is correct and if it were really monoconsonantal, it is clear that acrophony does not afford a satisfactory explanation of its origin, for we are faced with a choice of alternatives. Moreover, in the passage quoted in Note XXXIX it is clear that  is equivalent to Middle Egyptian  *nn wn.*  must therefore be biliteral and *ntr* cannot be the word of origin. How then is this value to be explained? There seem to be two possibilities : the negative use of  may be derived from either *imnt* “west” or *nb* “lord”. The first of these alternatives is to be preferred, for, although I do not know of any Ptolemaic example of  *imnt* “west” (Ptolemaic normally uses , ,  or their variants), the employment in old texts of  and  in writings of *imnt* “west” and *imni* “right” (cf. *Pyr.*, 1156 c; 1252 c; De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, I, 86 a, b, etc.), the less frequent use of  itself as *imnt* “west” (De Buck, *op. cit.*, I, 116 a; 121 b) and *imni* “right” (De Buck, *op. cit.*, I, 6 c), as well as Ptolemaic  *imnt* (VII, 196, 11) all indicate that in Ptolemaic it was not impossible that *imnt* should be implicit in . Any attempt to seek the origin in *nb* “lord” is open to the objection that such a derivation is less direct and more involved, for this sign is *nb* “lord” and never the adjective *nb* “all, every”. Since Coptic distinguishes between *nb* the noun and *nb* the adjective, which are *NHB*, *NEB-* and *NIM* respectively, it is unsound and dangerous, in spite of the known fact that *b* and *m* interchange, to postulate a phonetic change which Coptic indicates did not exist.

I must stress once more, however, that since the exact form of this sign is uncertain, it cannot be quoted as evidence and discussion of its probable origin is more academic and theoretical than practical. The only certain fact is that at this point in the original there once stood a sign that was equivalent to .

5.  (No. 176 (b), p. 226). Dr. Drioton very kindly sent me an advance copy of his recent note on this sign (*Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 25, 11, note (f)), though unfortunately too late for any reference to be made to it in the main part of this paper. He has suggested that  -  (VI, 68, 2) is to be read *ibw*. Although I find myself unable to accept his interpretation of this word and the passage in which it occurs (an alternative rendering will be found in the translation and commentary on the dramatic section of the Myth of Horus to be published by Professor A. M. Blackman and the writer in *J. E. A.*, vol. 29), Dr. Drioton is entirely correct in assigning the value *w* to this sign in certain words. Under the stimulus of Dr. Drioton's suggestion I have found a number of examples of this usage at Edfu which I had overlooked in the preparation of my original draft. As far as my present notes go, its use is confined to three words: it occurs frequently in    (V, 124, 3) *wt*, and somewhat less frequently in    (V, 223, 14) *ibw*, a plant, and    (IV, 68, 6) *ibw*, a title.

6.  (No. 248f, p. 238). Dr. Drioton writes: "Origin: variation de  = *m* (*mr*, "bassin"). The suggestion is plausible but impossible either to prove or disprove. It would be desirable to have clear Edfu examples of  with the value *mr*. In the present example, however, if the origin *mr* be adopted, I should be inclined to consider that  is not monoconsonantal *m* but biliteral *mr*, with  as the phonetic complement.

7.  (No. 253 b, p. 239 and Note LXIX on p. 278). Dr. Drioton writes: "Est-ce vraiment une erreur? Le remplacement de  par  est presque universel sur les stèles d'époque romaine". The question is quite open, but the impartial use of forms such as  and  for both  and  suggests error or confusion.

8.  (No. 304 b, p. 246). "Et si, pour expliquer  = *m*, on faisait appel à  =  (JUNKER, *ZÄS.*, 43, 102?)". A suggestion every bit

as probable as the one I have suggested, and in conformity with the definition of the consonantal principle given on p. 297. I have a completely open mind on this point, and feel that a final, binding conclusion is impossible until the ideas behind the formation of phonetic values have been studied and codified more completely taking into consideration both monoconsonantal and multiconsonantal signs. This study is at the best only an introduction to one section of the signs used at Edfu and the answer to many of the problems that arise or the choice between possible alternatives will only be forthcoming when they can be duly weighed against the results of the study of the whole body of signs and the system of writing that will emerge from that study.

#### D.—ORIGINS.

An analysis of the origins which have been suggested in the preceding sections of this paper reveals that the alphabetic values originated in the following ways:—

1. By direct representation, by an extension of the use of ideograms or word-signs.
2. By the Consonantal Principle<sup>(1)</sup>.
3. By Acrophony.
4. By the use of old signs either in new forms or from different aspects.
5. By confusion between signs, (a) genuine confusion between similar signs, (b) scribal errors.
6. By phonetic change or fusion with related phonemes.





<sup>(1)</sup> I have been using this term in my private work for some time past, under the influence of Drioton's "acrophonie consonantique" (*Annales du Service*, 40, 397) which is a less adequate and accurate designation. As far as I am aware Drioton himself is the first to have



used the term "consonantal principle" in print and in his most recent study (cf. *Annales du Service*, 41, 128-132) he employs "principe consonantique" instead of "acrophonie consonantique", without, however, defining or explaining the former term.




7. From the hieratic, either by adaptation of hieratic forms or by misunderstanding of the hieratic.
8. By rebus.
9. By convention<sup>(1)</sup>.
10. Graphic reasons<sup>(2)</sup>.
11. For reasons unknown.




The origin of a given value often lies in only one of these reasons, but frequently the value is the result of the combination of two or more factors. Most of the ways in which the values could originate are obvious and further comment would be superfluous, and the following discussion is therefore concerned only with the first three factors, Direct Representation, the Consonantal Principle and Acrophony.



### 1. Direct Representation.

The use of word-signs in Egyptian to give the names of the objects depicted needs no discussion for it is one of the fundamental usages of Egyptian writing at all periods. Such word-signs, though frequently employed in Ptolemaic with multi-literal values, do not act as alphabetic signs except in certain strictly specialised cases. Nevertheless, it is only an extension of the ideographic principle that a word-sign, instead of giving the name of the thing depicted, should in certain cases represent a pronoun referring to the person speaking or spoken to. This use is strictly limited: in the Ptolemaic period it is confined to the suffix pronouns 1st person singular, masculine and feminine, 2nd person singular feminine, 1st person plural and the dual. In theory the figure or figures of any human being, god or goddess could act in the appropriate context as one of these suffix pronouns. In pre-Ptolemaic texts the chief signs employed in this way are ,  and , and a few variant forms, for the 1st person singular masculine, and, in Late Egyptian,  for the 1st and 2nd persons singular feminine.

<sup>(1)</sup> Only  (No. 315 c) for *w*. — <sup>(2)</sup> Only  (No. 135) for *b*.







It is by a further extension of the same principle that  (No. 269) can also act as a suffix pronoun, for if  *nti* means “god” there is no logical objection to its being used to express “I” when a god is speaking, in the same way as in earlier periods  can act as the suffix 1st person singular masculine.


The origin of the use of  as the suffix 1st person singular masculine and feminine is, perhaps, less obvious, but it may also be due to the same process, since  for superstitious reasons replaced human figures in religious texts<sup>(1)</sup> and thus it could play the same part as the sign for which it was substituted. Ptolemaic in using  in this way merely continued a usage established at least as early as the Coffin Texts.

What is puzzling is that the use of these signs was not extended to the other suffix pronouns. The explanation that they were perhaps the determinatives of the pronouns hardly seems adequate and fails to account for the fact that the suffixes of the second and third persons, except the second person singular feminine, are never represented by similar signs. It may have been the difference in the meaning of the pronouns that precluded the extension of the ideographic principle to all of them. It is possible, moreover, that a considerable part of the original nominal meaning of the word-signs may still have clung to them when they were used as pronouns, for   means “Thoth says” and also “I (Thoth) say”. In this respect the situation is not altogether dissimilar from that of a child who is learning to talk, for the average child at first has difficulty with his pronouns, especially that of the first person, and will say, for instance, “May John have a cake?” where he means “May I have a cake?”.

The use of word-signs for the first person plural is probably to be explained in the same way. Once it has been admitted that the picture of a given person can represent not only the name of that person but the pronoun “I” when he is speaking of himself, it is a natural development to argue that two or more figures can represent the pronoun “we”, provided the figures are those of the persons who are speaking or who are imagined to be speaking.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. LEFEBVRE, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, p. 24, § 27, end.



The origin of the suffix second person singular feminine is perhaps less clear. The explanation is hardly likely to be the same as that for the pronouns of the first person since in that case one would have expected to find male figures acting for the second person singular masculine. It is possible that the figures of women and goddesses came to be considered as adequate substitutes for the pronoun because their association as determinatives with the feminine ending  and its variants almost inevitably attached to them the value *t*, *l*, and the tendency to write the suffix as , or variant, plus a female figure can only have increased the temptation to assign the values *t* or *l* to female figures and to regard them as legitimate writings of the suffix second person singular feminine. Once this was granted or admitted the argument came round to the full circle and any figure that could represent the suffix first person singular feminine could be replaced by ,  or some similar combination by mechanical substitution based on the faulty assumption that since a female figure could replace  etc. in the second person, then  etc. could replace any female figure in the first person.

Whatever the true explanation of these phenomena may be, it seems reasonably clear that in using these signs the phonetic aspect was less prominent than the purely graphic, the signs had little if any phonetic value. It is this that probably explains the fact that none of these signs are used in the spelling of other words and nouns with the values which they appear to have acquired as pronouns. The apparent exception that the figure of Thoth is sometimes equivalent to  is not in contradiction with this observation, for the origin of this particular value is to be sought elsewhere (see pp. 252, 284).

It is hardly necessary to add that this attempt at explanation is highly speculative and far from being established conclusively. These remarks are offered as suggestions and in no way as statements of fact, for further research into the nature and use of the suffix pronouns will be necessary before a solution can be found to the problems which have been briefly indicated in the preceding lines.

## 2. The Consonantal Principle<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is now generally admitted that the normal alphabetic signs appear to have originated in words composed of one strong consonant and one or more weak consonants which disappeared or fell away<sup>(2)</sup>. These weak consonants originally seem to have been only *ʒ*, *ʔ*, *w* and the feminine ending *t*, but in the course of time *r*, *t*, *d* and *q* all shared this weakness and could be dropped. These weak consonants could fall away from any part of the word, beginning, middle or end.

The tendency among the majority of scholars seems to be to separate the alphabetic signs from the system generally known as "group-writing" or, much less accurately, "syllabic writing"<sup>(3)</sup>, whereby a number of biconsonantal signs are employed as though they were monoconsonantal. It is difficult to see why this distinction should be retained since the principle that underlies the formation of the alphabetic signs proper and the use of certain signs in group-writing is essentially the same and consists of the employment of signs in which only the one strong consonant is retained while the weak consonant or consonants are dropped. The difference between the two seems to be that whereas most of the "normal" alphabetic signs have lost their original multiconsonantal values almost completely, the signs used in group-writing retain both monoconsonantal and biconsonantal values. This difference, however, is not a genuine one, for , which is universally recognised as alphabetic *d*, retains its original value *wʒdyt* down to the Ptolemaic Period, and  in addition to its alphabetic value *h* retains its original value *ht* through all periods and in Ptolemaic, for phonetic reasons, even acquires the additional value *hr*.

<sup>(1)</sup> In connection with the following remarks much valuable and interesting material will be found in Edgerton's paper *Egyptian Phonetic Writing, from its Invention to the Close of the Nineteenth Dynasty* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 60, 473-506, though it will be noticed that I differ slightly

from him in one or two points of detail.

<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. SETHE, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, 119-124, 151-157.

<sup>(3)</sup> For the following see in particular EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, 486-494, who quotes most of the examples given below, plus many additional ones.

The earliest example of group-writing known to me occurs on a seal of the Third Dynasty in which } is used instead of - in the name of the woman *Snt-Nt* (Fig. 56, p. 293)<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the Pyramid Texts a number of group-writings occur :-

𓂏 is used for *s* in certain forms of the verb *ms*, "go, transport" e.g; imperative } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(2)</sup> and the perfective relative } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(3)</sup> and } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(4)</sup> and also in } 𓂏<sup>(5)</sup>, var. } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(6)</sup> *is*, "go";

𓂏 or 𓂏 is used for *h* in } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(7)</sup> *hns*, "traverse", } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(8)</sup> *hnf*, "cook; bake", } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(9)</sup> *hsr*, "repel" and } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(10)</sup>, var. } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(11)</sup> *thh*, an epithet of gods hostile to Rē<sup>c</sup>;

𓂏 is used for *s* in } 𓂏<sup>(12)</sup>, var. } 𓂏<sup>(13)</sup> *hms*, "sit";

𓂏 is used for *t* in } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(14)</sup> *thh*, an epithet of gods hostile to Rē<sup>c</sup>, } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(15)</sup> *ir.t-n Hr*, "that which Horus did" (perf. rel.), } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(16)</sup> *imyt-s*, "that which is in it" for } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(17)</sup>, and } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(18)</sup>, } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(19)</sup> for } 𓂏 𓂏, independent pronoun third person plural;

𓂏 is used for *d* in } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(20)</sup> *rdw*, "efflux".

After the Pyramid Age other group writings occur sporadically, ranging from such words as } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(21)</sup> *mhr*, "granary" to the rebus } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(22)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> From an unpublished cylinder seal of the Third Dynasty in the possession of Mr. G. Michaelides of Cairo. I am grateful to Mr. Grdseloff for giving me this example and for allowing me to quote it.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Pyr.* 645 c (T).

<sup>(3)</sup> *Pyr.* 85 c (W).

<sup>(4)</sup> *Pyr.* 85 c (N).

<sup>(5)</sup> *Pyr.* 798 b (N).

<sup>(6)</sup> *Pyr.* 798 b (P; M).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Pyr.* 798 c.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Pyr.* 76 a (W. N); JÉQUIER, *Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apout*, Pl. IX, 204; JÉQUIER, *La Pyramide d'Aba*, Pl. VI, 179.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Pyr.* 1150 b (P); cf. 2158 a (N), 2158 c (N).

<sup>(10)</sup> *Pyr.* 1701 d.

<sup>(11)</sup> *Pyr.* 1701 c (M.N).

<sup>(12)</sup> *Pyr.* 57 c (W), 622b (M.N).

<sup>(13)</sup> *Pyr.* 129 b (M.N).

<sup>(14)</sup> *Pyr.* 392 d (W.T.N).

<sup>(15)</sup> *Pyr.* 807 (P.N).

<sup>(16)</sup> *Pyr.* 532 b (T).

<sup>(17)</sup> *Pyr.* 532 b (P).

<sup>(18)</sup> *Pyr.* 1650, 1651 (N).

<sup>(19)</sup> *Pyr.* 1651 (M).

<sup>(20)</sup> *Pyr.* 766 c; cf. 766 a, 788 b, all in N.

<sup>(21)</sup> PETRIE, *Denderah*, Pl. XVIII. (Dyn. vi-viii).

<sup>(22)</sup> See SETHE in *ZÄS.*, 59, 61-3, with two additional examples quoted by EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, 491.

*m-huw*, "in". They are employed not only in hieroglyphic but in hieratic also in the words } 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(1)</sup> *msdmt*, "eye-paint" and } 𓂏 𓂏<sup>(2)</sup> *srmt*, name of a drink. They do not become frequent, however, until the New Kingdom and find their most developed expression in the so-called "monumental cryptograms" of the New Kingdom and the following periods.

In the Ptolemaic Period decorative writing of the same type as the "monumental cryptograms", in which group-writing played its due part, became even more common; it was used not only in the "randinschriften", door-jambs, architraves, and ceilings as in the case of the monumental cryptograms, but was also employed in the ordinary texts on the walls of the temples, though rarely in its most developed form.

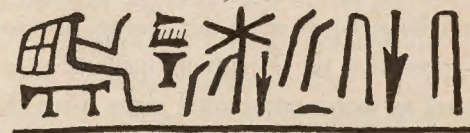


Fig. 56.

There is no apparent break between this developed, decorative Ptolemaic writing and the earlier monumental cryptograms, in general it occurs in exactly the same places in the temples, it employs the same principles and its subject matter is approximately the same, and I can see nothing cryptographic in either the one or the other<sup>(3)</sup>. Both in Ptolemaic writing and in the "monumental cryptograms", the manner in which the signs used acquired alphabetic values forms part of one and the same consecutive, historical tradition of writing that can be traced without a real break from the Old Kingdom onwards.

Edgerton<sup>(4)</sup> has cast doubts on Sethe's view that group-writing originated in predynastic times and considers that it commenced in the Fifth Dynasty. It is hard to subscribe to this view. If we find an example of group writing as early as the Third Dynasty, may not further examples

<sup>(1)</sup> Ebers 56, 17; 58, 4; 63, 10; 10.13. with slight modifications 61, 21; 26, 18; 31, 18; 60, 7.

<sup>(2)</sup> Ebers 67, 18; 88, 20; 104, 19; cf. also 24, 1; 35, 7-8; 54, 4.15; 83,

<sup>(3)</sup> It should be emphasised that for the time being these remarks are applied only to monumental cryptograms.

<sup>(4)</sup> EDGERTON, *op. cit.*, 489 and note 37.

be forthcoming as our knowledge of earlier texts is increased? Moreover, if it is true that group-writing was invented in the Fifth Dynasty, it is surely very peculiar that the next group-writings that we can find did not use the forms which we encounter in the Pyramid Texts but other new ones. If the group-writings of the Pyramid Texts were the outcome of some new procedure, we ought to find some of them at least, plus additional signs, in the immediately succeeding periods. The fact that we do not do so affords strong grounds for suggesting that these group-writings are not a new invention, but a survival.

If we stop to consider the manner in which the normal, standard alphabetic signs came into being, it must seem unlikely and illogical to suppose that the Egyptians quite arbitrarily selected a handful of signs to act as monoconsonantal signs when they must have possessed a considerable number of signs that could have acquired monoconsonantal values by dropping their weak consonants. It seems more logical to suppose that there must have once been a time, of which all traces have admittedly been lost, when the Egyptians employed quite a variety of signs that had monoconsonantal values. This multiplicity of signs must have presented the Egyptian scribes with the same sort of difficulties that confront the student of Ptolemaic hieroglyphic to-day, for the profusion of alternatives does not exactly conduce to speedy decipherment. Thus, it may be suggested, it became desirable to reduce and standardise the number of monoconsonantal signs in normal, general use, and thus the Egyptian "alphabet" with which we are familiar may have come into being. Nevertheless, Egypt being Egypt, what had once been was never lost, and group-writings could be used at will, at any time, without any affront to the rules of writing, though as a matter of convenience at first they were never frequent. However, the sporadic and haphazard nature of the early group-writings is precisely what might be anticipated if they were a survival and not an invention.

The question of why group-writing was revived, particularly in and after the New Kingdom, and why it was so widely used in the Ptolemaic Period is best discussed with reference to the whole body of Ptolemaic signs and accordingly only a summary sketch of the probable reasons is attempted here. Four main motives can be distinguished.

(a) decoration and a desire to increase the decorative effect of the hieroglyphic texts<sup>(1)</sup>;

(b) archaism, partly as a conscious or unconscious reaction to the entry of foreigners and foreign influences into Egypt, but probably to a greater degree as a result of the "rediscovery" of the Pyramid Texts, and probably other early texts, in Saite times;

(c) a form of inferiority complex, foreign domination resulted in a deliberate attempt to impress foreigners with the mystery and antiquity of Egypt, by emphasising all that was different and typically Egyptian; this tendency showed itself in more than one way, but in writing it took the form of a deliberate attempt to increase and emphasise the mystery and strangeness of the *outward* form of the hieroglyphic texts;

(d) an effort to indicate in part the contemporary pronunciation; this was only a minor motive, it seems to have been concerned largely with indicating the changes in consonants but not the vowels, except perhaps in a few cases; it was never generally and regularly operative but when applied it was in the main with real knowledge.<sup>(2)</sup>

In none of these motives can there be detected any trace of an attempt to obscure or hide the content of a text, and if this decorative method of writing resulted in a text being more difficult to read, this was purely incidental and not deliberate. In fact, decorative writing to a very large extent left alone the ritual and those texts which one might imagine to have been secret and concentrated mainly on what was well known, the common divine names, the commonest divine titles and above all on precisely those texts whose contents there was every reason to have well known.












In addition, however, to the falling away of weak consonants, two further aspects or applications of the Consonantal Principle have to be considered.










<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. JUNKER, *Schriftsystem*, 12-15, whose arguments apply with equal force to Edfu.

<sup>(2)</sup> It is clear that all these reasons do not apply to the texts of the New Kingdom. In the New Kingdom I imagine

that (b) and (c) played no part, (d) only a very minor part, if any, and the prime motive seems to have been decoration, based on principles of writing that were traditional but to a large extent obsolete.



A sign may acquire a monoconsonantal value if originally it was composed, with or without additional weak consonants, of either two identical consonants or two consonants so closely related as to be practically identical, but such consonants must be in direct juxtaposition. In such cases, for purposes of writing and sometimes even in pronunciation, the signs were considered as having one consonant only. Thus we find  (No. 2) *n* from *mn*,  (No. 7) and its variants is *h* from *hh*,  (No. 175 and Note XXXIX), originally *mm* or *nm*, is *m*,  (No. 239) is *m* from *mnt*,  and  (No. 289) and  (No. 313), which normally have the value *mn*, have the monoconsonantal value *m* (cf. Note LXXVIII), and  (No. 291) and  (No. 292) are *g*, apparently from *wgg*. In these cases there is no question of acrophony, the component strong consonants are either identical or so closely related that for purposes of writing they are considered to be one and not two. This assimilation or coalescence of identical or related consonants, which has also been indicated above in the case of  and  (No. 248 *d*, cf. Note XLV) is not confined to individual signs but can be observed in Coptic also. Thus, to quote a few examples only, we have  $\overline{m}n\overline{c}e$  "Memphis" from *Mn-nfr*,  $\epsilon n\epsilon z$  "eternity" from *nhh*,  $z\overline{o}n\tau$  "priest" from *hm-ntr*, or  $z\overline{o}cm$  "natron" from *hsmn*. The process, therefore, is in itself nothing strange to Egyptian but is a natural result of the development of the language.<sup>(1)</sup>

Finally, , which originally was not one of the weaker consonants, falls away when in direct contact with , as in  (No. 16c. and perhaps also in  (No. 265) and  (No. 277). Here the explanation appears to be that when in contact with  there was a tendency for  to become , which, being one of the weak consonants, could fall away leaving  alone.







As a result of this lengthy discussion it is now possible to attempt to define the term "consonantal principle". The term "consonantal principle" is applied to the process by which, under certain definite conditions, a multiliteral sign, having been reduced to one consonant

<sup>(1)</sup> SETHE, *Die Vokalisation des Ägyptischen in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 77, N.F. Band 2, pp. 179, 180, 187; *Verbum*, I, §§ 59-61, 63.

only of its original consonantal skeleton, is employed as a monoconsonantal or alphabetic sign. This surviving consonant could occupy any position in the original word, the important factor being not whether it occurred at the beginning, the middle or the end of the word, but the fact that it was the only strong consonant. In the Late and Ptolemaic Periods the conditions under which this reduction could take place were three in number:—

(i) When the consonantal skeleton consists of one strong consonant and one or more of the weak consonants *z*, *i*, *w*, *r*, *t*, *t*, *d* and *d*. It may be surmised that even in those cases where the word of origin appears to have one radical only, as *t* from  $\overline{t}$  *t*, it is probable that the word was originally at least biliteral.

(ii) When the consonantal skeleton contains, with or without other weak consonants, either two identical consonants or two consonants so closely related that they are practically the same, such consonants being in direct juxtaposition and not separated by any other weak or strong consonant.

(iii) When the consonantal skeleton contains, with or without other weak consonants,  and  in direct juxtaposition, in which case there is a tendency for  and the weak consonants, if any, to fall away leaving  alone. Instances of  falling away when in contact with signs other than  are very rare and appear to belong to a later stage.

It will be noticed that although many of the signs that have monoconsonantal values are also word-signs or ideograms, a considerable proportion only occur elsewhere as "determinatives". There is a tendency in some quarters to regard the determinatives as "dead" signs, devoid of any phonetic significance.<sup>(1)</sup> In my view, it is impossible to explain in a satisfactory and scientific manner either the monoconsonantal and multi-consonantal values borne by Ptolemaic signs or the spellings of many words unless it be conceded that practically every so-called determinative always retained its full and appropriate phonetic value. There are, it

<sup>(1)</sup> For the following see also B. VAN TIEN in *Mélanges de Philologie orientale* DE WALLE, *Les Soi-disants « signes déterminatifs » du système hiéroglyphique égyptien* (Liège 1932), 203-218.

is true, a very few generic determinatives for which phonetic values cannot be claimed, I should not, for instance, claim that — was a phonogram in most of the words in which it occurs, but such signs are exceptional and can almost be numbered on the fingers of the hand. It is unreasonable to think that these “determinatives” should be without phonetic significance at one moment, and then at another moment be used phonetically with multiconsonantal or monoconsonantal values simply because they were determinatives. If a determinative could at times be used with multiconsonantal or monoconsonantal values derived from the words which it determined, this must have been because it always retained its full phonetic nature. This is surely the scientific basis of the fact that in practice almost any determinative, except a limited number of generic determinatives, can act as a phonogram with the value of any word that it determines.

Since the hieroglyphic system of writing was originally ideographic in form, every hieroglyphic sign must originally have been an ideogram. Egyptian, like other languages, had many synonyms and one ideogram could legitimately represent several words. If, for instance, a scribe wrote the sign  $\text{𓆎}$ , there are numerous cases in which it is impossible to decide whether the scribe intended to write  $\text{dw}$ ,  $\text{dw}^3$ ,  $\text{hf}$ ,  $\text{sns}$  or a number of other words, and it is only when other multiconsonantal or monoconsonantal signs are added that it is possible for the reader to tell which of the legitimate values of the ideogram  $\text{𓆎}$  the scribe had in mind. In short, the true determinatives in hieroglyphic are not those which are habitually called the determinatives but those phonograms and alphabetic signs which when added to the word-sign indicate which of a number of synonyms the scribe had in mind when writing.

### 3. Acrophony.

The part played by acrophony in the formation of the Egyptian alphabet is a matter of no little importance and interest and one on which some divergence of opinion exists. In 1916, Sethe<sup>(1)</sup> in his study of the

<sup>(1)</sup> SETHE, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, 121-3.

origin of the alphabet stated that the idea of acrophony was quite foreign to Egyptian and asserted categorically that it played no part in the formation of the Egyptian alphabet. In the following year<sup>(1)</sup> Sethe modified this sweeping statement and voiced the opinion that in texts of the Graeco-Roman period and in cryptograms there was a limited number of signs having monoconsonantal values for which apparently only an acrophonic origin could be suggested and quoted a number of such signs that occurred in Ptolemaic texts and in cryptograms. Sethe's argument is not strengthened by the fact that it is possible to explain on the consonantal principle or in other ways some at least of the signs and values which he quoted, and indeed he seems to have realised that the final word had not been uttered and was careful to note that some of these apparent instances of acrophony might in reality be explained by some form of pun.<sup>(2)</sup>

In recent years Dr. Drioton has devoted a series of important studies to the decipherment of Egyptian cryptograms and has attempted to analyse the principles on which cryptography was based and to formulate the rules governing the formation of the values used.<sup>(3)</sup> The two most striking features of the system of writing that emerges from these studies are the dominant part which Drioton suggests was played by acrophony in the formation of the monoconsonantal values and the largely alphabetic nature of the spellings, these two features being interdependent. It may be remarked in passing that, even accepting Drioton's decipherment, it is doubtful whether the cryptograms contain as many monoconsonantal signs as he suggests, and it is certain that many signs for which an acrophonic origin has been suggested can be explained either on the

<sup>(1)</sup> SETHE, *Die Neuentdeckte Sinai-Schrift und die Entstehung der semitischen Schrift in Nachrichten von der Kgl. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1917. pp. 472-4.

<sup>(2)</sup> SETHE, *op. cit.*, 473, note 2.

<sup>(3)</sup> A list of these studies will be found in DRIOTON, *Recueil de Cryptographie monumentale (Annales du Service*, 40,

307, 308). To this list should now be added *La Frise d'Écriture énigmatique du Tombeau de Padykam* in SAMI GABRA, *Fouilles de l'Université Fouad el Awal à Hermoupolis Ouest «Touna el Gebel»*, 29-37; *L'Écriture énigmatique* in PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, 83-121; *La Cryptographie du Papyrus Salt* 825 in *Annales du Service*, 41, 99-134.

consonantal principle or in some other way. In fact, in his most recent paper<sup>(1)</sup> Drioton admits that many values which he had previously suggested had originated in a form of acrophony (*acrophonie consonantique*)<sup>(2)</sup> were formed by application of the consonantal principle.

It remains to see what part was played by acrophony in the texts of the Ptolemaic Period. As far as Edfu is concerned, in this paper there are listed 320 signs, in addition to a number of variant forms, that between them represent 484 monoconsonantal values. Analysis of the origins that have been suggested in the preceding sections of this paper reveals that these values were formed in the following ways :-

Consonantal Principle . . . . .	355 <sup>(3)</sup>
Direct Representation . . . . .	103
Unknown . . . . .	19 <sup>(4)</sup>
Acrophony . . . . .	5
Convention . . . . .	1 <sup>(5)</sup>
Graphic . . . . .	1 <sup>(6)</sup>

It will be noticed that the five signs that are apparent examples of acrophony are in reality only variants of one and the same sign  $\rightarrow$ , so that the evidence for acrophony rests on a particular use of a single sign. It is obvious, therefore, that at Edfu there is an overwhelming body of evidence against acrophony. Even if all the values of unknown origin proved to be acrophonic, which on the law of averages is clearly unlikely, the position would not be materially altered. Acrophony appears to

<sup>(1)</sup> *Annales du Service*, 41, 128-132. It should be noted, however, that DRIOTON's conception of the consonantal principle differs somewhat from mine, it is more restricted, and many of his examples of acrophony are in my view examples of the consonantal principle as defined above p. 297.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Annales du Service*, 40, 385 (N° 3), 397.

<sup>(3)</sup> The values that originated in the

Consonantal Principle may be analysed thus: (a) direct, by dropping of weak consonants, 191; (b) by phonetic change of values acquired under (a), 83; (c) by confusion or errors, 49; (d) by rebus, 10; (e) from the hieratic, 5; (f) by assimilation, 17.

<sup>(4)</sup> Including 7 values by phonetic change from values of unknown origin.

<sup>(5)</sup> Only  $\vdots \vdots \vdots$  (No. 315c) for w.

<sup>(6)</sup> Only  $\vdots$  (No. 135) for b.

have played, at the best, but an insignificant part at Edfu in the formation of monoconsonantal values and it is inevitable that doubts should arise concerning the accuracy of our attribution of acrophonic origins to these values.

It would have been desirable to complete this survey with an accurate and final analysis of the monoconsonantal signs and values employed in the other temples of the Late Period. Unfortunately this is not possible at present, partly because of the enormous mass of material involved and partly owing to the incomplete nature and doubtful accuracy of much of the published material. I have made, however, incomplete and unsystematic studies of the originals or photographs of texts at Dendera, Esna, Karnak, Deir el-Medina and Tod and have read other published texts from these temples and from Philae, Kom Ombo and Medamud, in addition to a number of miscellaneous sources. The general impression obtained from this reading, which I must emphasise is not thorough, final or complete, is that there is no evidence of any marked increase in the use of acrophony in these texts, though it is possible, particularly towards the end of the Graeco-Roman Period, that there may have been a very slight increase in values which apparently and with our present knowledge can only be explained by acrophony.

Attention may be drawn to a few exceptional cases at Esna in which the only origin that can be suggested at present seems to be acrophony. These examples occur in the following spellings of the name of Khnum,  $\text{ⲕⲏⲙ}$ <sup>(1)</sup>,  $\text{ⲕⲏⲙⲓ}$ <sup>(2)</sup> and  $\text{ⲕⲏⲙⲓⲙ}$ <sup>(2)</sup>, but on the other hand acrophony plays no part in the variants  $\text{ⲕⲏⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$ <sup>(3)</sup> and  $\text{ⲕⲏⲙⲓⲙⲓⲙ}$ <sup>(4)</sup>. These spellings, however, are quite exceptional, I have failed to find any indication that their apparent use of acrophony is in any way typical of the other inscriptions of Esna and I suspect that they owe their form to the desire to give the name of Khnum a particularly decorative appearance.

It is true that in a number of older publications it is stated that certain signs have acquired monoconsonantal values by acrophony or



<sup>(1)</sup> BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 651 D.



<sup>(2)</sup> BRUGSCH, *op. cit.*, 651 F.



<sup>(3)</sup> BRUGSCH, *op. cit.*, 651 C.


<sup>(4)</sup> BRUGSCH, *op. cit.*, 651 E:  $\text{ⲕⲏⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$  is to be read *hm*,  $\text{ⲕⲏⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$  being the phonetic complement *n*.

that a number of signs and values that occur in such publications appear to have acrophonic origins. Some of these claims and copies I have been unable to check, but very few, if any, of those that I have been able to trace will survive close examination, and in general it will be found that these claims and apparent values are not correct and are due partly to inaccurate copies, partly to faulty analysis of the texts and misunderstanding of words and signs, and partly to incomplete knowledge of Egyptian vocabulary. Indeed, as our knowledge of Egyptian texts and vocabulary grows, there is a steady decrease in the number of signs and values for which acrophony is apparently the only explanation. It would not be difficult to quote a quite considerable number of such cases, some have already been mentioned in this paper, and the following signs are quoted merely to serve as examples :-

⊖ : Dümichen<sup>(1)</sup> has quoted three words from Philae in which ⊖ is used instead of  and has argued that the value *n* was obtained by acrophony from *nst*. It has been pointed out above in Note LXXX (p. 282) with reference to ⊖ (No. 302b) and  (No. 303e) that even if Dümichen's copies are accurate this value did not originate in acrophony.

\* : this sign occasionally has the value *s*, e.g.  <sup>(2)</sup> *smw* "vegetation". The immediate origin, however, is not *sb*; "star" but the late form of the same word which occurs as  <sup>(3)</sup> in hieroglyphic and which survives as *cioy* in Coptic.

⊖ : appears at first sight to have the value *i* in  <sup>(4)</sup> "moon". Such spellings as  <sup>(5)</sup> and the numerous variants of this word at Edfu and Dendera indicate that the true reading is not *i'h* but *wn-h*. This is also the view of the *Wörterbuch*.<sup>(6)</sup>

 : that this sign had the value *n* at Dendera is attested by Junker<sup>(7)</sup> but there appear to be no examples of this usage at Edfu. In my experience this is not a common value and I suspect that many of the apparent

<sup>(1)</sup> ZÄS., 1 (1863), 51.

<sup>(2)</sup> ZÄS., 9 (1871), 92 = DÜMICHEN, *Tempelinschriften*, I, 35b, 23.




<sup>(3)</sup> V, 352, 6. Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *De-motische Grammatik*, § 3.














<sup>(4)</sup> BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 511.

<sup>(5)</sup> V, 49, 6.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, I, 53.




<sup>(7)</sup> JUNKER, *Schriftsystem*, 26.

examples of this value are to be explained otherwise, owing to misunderstanding of the phonetic values of  and its variants and of the structure of the words in which they occur. The current view appears to be that  acquired the value *n* by acrophony from  *nrt* "vulture" because that word is preserved in Coptic as *NOYPE* (S), *NOYPI* (B). This view is entirely mistaken and is an excellent illustration of the dangers that accompany any attempt to suggest origins, whether by acrophony or by any other means, without studying all the uses of the signs concerned.

*Nr* is one of the many values that  bears in Ptolemaic. It occurs in *nrt* "vulture", and in  <sup>(1)</sup>,  <sup>(2)</sup> *nri* (*t*), which is the Ptolemaic form of Late Egyptian   and which is partly a synonym of *rnpt* "year" and partly an expression of time with somewhat wider and looser significance.<sup>(3)</sup> *Nri* (*t*) survives in Bohairic as *NGI*. A further use of , not common at Edfu but rather more frequent at Dendera, is as an equivalent of  <sup>(4)</sup>, *nwt* "city", e.g.  <sup>(4)</sup> "he sees his city in festival", or  <sup>(5)</sup> "within (for *m*)-*hnt* thy city Edfu." It is clear that this writing could only have developed as a result of some similarity between the vocalised forms of *nwt* and , a similarity which clearly did not exist in *NOYPE* or even in the purely monoconsonantal *n*. Although the Coptic form of *nwt* has not come down to us, Greek evidence indicates that in the Late Period it was equivalent to *vn*<sup>(6)</sup>, and the chain of development from , *nri* (*t*), *NGI* to , is immediately apparent. These facts demonstrate that  *nr*

<sup>(1)</sup> VI, 263, 6.

<sup>(2)</sup> IV, 7, 10.


<sup>(3)</sup> The *Wörterbuch* ignores the full spellings with  and wrongly lists all examples of  and its variants as *rnpt*.  is certainly sometimes equivalent to *rnpt*, but the reading *nri* (*t*) is assured by comparing IV, 7, 10 with VII, 6, 4, or IV, 115, 4 with IV, 238, 11 and by numerous other examples; cf. also VI, 195, note 4, and *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*,



25, 136, note 4. A further note on this sign will be found in the commentary on VI, 61, 5 to be published in *JEA.*, vol. 29 in the translation and commentary on the dramatic portion of the Myth of Horus by Professor A. M. Blackman and the writer.

<sup>(4)</sup> IV, 115.

<sup>(5)</sup> VII, 135, 9.

<sup>(6)</sup> SETHE, *Die Vokalisation des Aegyptischen* (in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 77, N. F. Band 2), 166.

had two forms, one of which always retained *r* as in *NOYPE*, and another which lost the *r* as in *NEI*, from which  acquired the monoconsonantal value *n* on the consonantal principle.

→ : the values *p* and *t* which this sign bears are among the best known examples of apparent acrophonic origin. With regard to *p*,  appears to be the only word known at present from which this value could have been derived. Although for the time being I can make no other suggestion, it would not be surprising if eventually the origin proved to be a still unknown word *pwi*, or perhaps *pzi*. The origin of the value *t* is usually presumed to be  of "spit". At Edfu, however, there are indications that there may have existed another word from which this value could have been derived on the consonantal principle. It would be premature to express any final opinion on this point at the moment for my enquiries are not yet complete, but it is hoped to return to this matter in the near future.

These considerations obviously do not prove that acrophony never played any part in the formation of the monoconsonantal values. As long as a single value exists that can only be explained by acrophony it is not possible to deny that acrophony may have played its part, though perhaps only a very limited one. On the other hand, it is quite clear that until we know every word that was used in Ancient Egypt, and until the manner in which hieroglyphic signs acquired their various values has been thoroughly studied, analysed and digested, it is impossible to state categorically that a given value could have originated only by acrophony. In the present state of our knowledge it would appear that, with the doubtful exception of certain cryptograms, acrophony was not typical of Egyptian and was not in general use as a factor in the formation of monoconsonantal values. At Edfu, if the results of the present study are accepted, acrophony played at the most only an insignificant part, so small a part indeed that none of the apparent instances of acrophony can be accepted unquestioningly, though no alternatives can be suggested at present. There is no evidence that there was any radical difference in procedure in the other temples of the Late Period.

It would appear to be a sound rule in attempting the decipherment of hieroglyphic texts of any period never to have recourse to acrophony

as an explanation of origins unless all other attempts at explanation have failed. Wherever possible origins should be sought in the Consonantal Principle because thereby it is possible to obtain a more precise and unequivocal answer to the question of origins, the possibility of producing alternative versions of one and the same text is reduced, and our ability to control and check individual values and the decipherment as a whole is increased. Acrophony on the other hand has precisely the opposite effect : it frequently fails to indicate the exact origin, it is often the cause of the creation of two or more alternative versions of the same text, all of which must therefore be viewed with suspicion<sup>(1)</sup>, it is a cause of error, and it reduces very considerably the chances of controlling results.










<sup>(1)</sup> When, for example, three entirely different versions are suggested for one short text as in the case of the Athribis cryptogram (see the versions of BLACKMAN, *Liverpool Annals*, 25, 133-7, DRIOTON, *Annales du Service*, 38, 109-116, and HAMZA, *Annales du Service*, 38, 198-200) decipherment is reduced almost to an absurdity and all versions are equally discredited. It is immaterial whether we claim or deny that in Ptolemaic texts and cryptograms the scribes deliberately















sought to deceive the reader by writing in such a fashion that more than one way of reading the text may occur to the reader. Such a claim may or may not be true, but the essential point is that regardless of its truth it is absolutely certain that there was *one* version that the scribe had in mind as the correct one and there must exist some way of finding and proving that version, but acrophony conspicuously and lamentably fails to provide the safe way.









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



















Grdseloff, after having read this paper, has given me a number of comments and suggestions some of which with his permission I am glad to reproduce. I take this opportunity of inserting a few additional remarks and corrections. With the exception of 3, 5, 6, and 14, all the following notes are based on Grdseloff's observations and the material he has quoted.

It should be made clear that Dr. Drioton's paper «Procédé acrophonique ou Principe consonantal?», which immediately follows this paper, was written entirely without reference to these Addenda. Dr. Drioton's paper was based on my original manuscript, which I lent to him before it was sent to the press, and on the galley proofs, and these Addenda were not accessible to him until his article was in page proof. Similarly, these present notes were all drafted and completed before I had any knowledge of the contents and nature of Dr. Drioton's remarks which were only known to me when he kindly gave me a set of his page proofs at a time when I had already practically finished correcting my own proofs. This explanation will, I hope, help to account for the fact that in one or two points Dr. Drioton and I appear to anticipate each other, in actual fact our remarks were made entirely independently and became known to each of us too late for the necessary modifications to be made.

1. , No. 29, and , No. 30 (p. 206) and Note V (p. 251). Grdseloff suggests that in the examples quoted in Nos. 29a and 30  and  are not alphabetic but act as the ideogram *ik*, which is derived from  *ik* "quarryman", the writing   "four falcons" being particularly significant. This suggestion is much to be preferred to mine and the text should be emended accordingly. The value *;* (No. 29b) holds good, however, and is obtained on the Consonantal Principle from  .

2. , No. 176b (p. 226). Grdseloff points out that the writing    for *mb* arose out of the assimilation of *b* to *n* giving *m*. The combination *nb* could be rendered by  only as in    (Famine Stela, Sehel, line 11 = de MORGAN, *Catalogue des Monuments*, 80 and fig. on p. 78). It is worthy of note that in    it would appear that  is a later addition or correction since it is small and squeezed in high up between  and : for the exact grouping see XIII, Pl. 500.

3. , No. 196, , No. 197 (p. 230) and Note LIII, p. 271. As a result of further consideration and of readings in Edfu building texts with some friends and colleagues the doubts I have always felt about the reading of these signs have crystallised. I now consider it most improbable that these signs are monoconsonantal or equivalent to simple . I would suggest that they are really equivalent to  . It will be recalled that I have already suggested that  should be supplied in CHASSINAT, *Le Temple de Dendara*, III, 101, 14. In VII, 4, 2-3  suits the context at least as well as the  *hp(r)* I originally suggested and would make excellent sense in IV, 11, 11, which would thus be brought into line with customary Edfu usage. It cannot be mere coincidence that the only examples of these signs known to me should all occur in contexts in which a verb is apparently missing and the reasonable course is to assume that the missing verb is present in the signs themselves. I am unable to explain the origin of this value.

4. , No. 221, and Nos. 222b, 223 and Note LXI, p. 277. Grdseloff remarks that Sethe pointed out long ago (in GARSTANG, *Mahasna and Bel Khallaf*, 20) that  had the value *n*, *nw* in   *rn ndm* and in the name of Binotris   *rnw*, which occurs on the Palermo Stone as      . Note also that in Late Egyptian the hieratic text of the battle of Kadesh has   ,   where the hieroglyphic texts have ,  (cf. KUENTZ, *La Bataille de Qadech*, 252 (120), 285 (218)). Grdseloff doubts whether  was originally biliteral *mn*, but in that case the precise word of origin is apparently unknown and must presumably have been a word *\*nw* or *\*nwl* "rush" now lost.

LORET (*Griffith Studies*, 304 ff) equated  $\uparrow\uparrow$  with Coptic NOYNE: NOYNI, but this equation is not yet proved.

5.  $\nabla$ , No. 236 (p. 235). Grdseloff asks whether  $h$  could not have been derived from  $\nabla$  "field". While this is not impossible, it is also certain that at Edfu  $\nabla$  acts as a substitute for  $\cup$  as determinative of words denoting teeth, e. g.  $n\dot{h}dt$ ,  $tst$ , as ideogram  $\dot{b}h$ , and also as the phonograms  $b\dot{h}$  and  $hw$ . For the present, therefore, I adhere to my original view. This usage, of course, originally arose through a misunderstanding of the hieratic form of  $\cup$ .

6.  $\text{𐀀}$ , No. 239e (p. 236). It should be noted that the singular  $\text{𐀀}$  is not known to the *Wörterbuch* nor, to the best of my knowledge, has any example of it ever been quoted, not even by Drioton who first made the suggestion. This word always occurs in the dual  $\text{𐀀𐀀}$ , which denotes the cliffs that delimit the Nile valley. It is a reasonable assumption, however, that there must have been a singular form  $\text{𐀀}$  from which the dual was derived.

7.  $\text{𐀁}$ , No. 253 (p. 238). Grdseloff asks whether  $\text{𐀁}$  with the value  $p$  is not after all merely a graphic variation (an error) of  $\text{𐀂}$ . Cf. the confusion between  $\text{𐀁}$  and  $\text{𐀂}$  noted under No. 253b.

8.  $\text{𐀃}$ , No. 254 (p. 239). In spite of the *Wörterbuch*, Grdseloff doubts whether the word  $\text{𐀃}$  really exists. In the Pyramid Texts  $\text{𐀃}$  is a variant of  $\text{𐀄}$  *wsh*t (cf. *Pyr.* 59c, 214c, 807b, 1069a, 1749a, and numerous other variants). If Grdseloff's doubts are justified, the value  $h$  of  $\text{𐀃}$  is to be derived from  $\text{𐀅}$  *hyt* "portal". Grdseloff points out that the identity of  $\text{𐀃}$  and  $\text{𐀄}$  *wsh*t is proved in the Old Kingdom by the expression  $\text{𐀃𐀄}$  (Pap. Berlin 8869, recto, a VIth Dynasty papyrus from Elephantine),  $\text{𐀃𐀄}$  (*Urk.*, I, 283; 287; 292). The opposite process whereby  $\text{𐀄}$  is written for  $\text{𐀃}$   $h$  is attested in the word  $\text{𐀄𐀅}$  (Prentice DUELL, *Mereruka*, I, Pl. 80).

9.  $\text{𐀆}$ , No. 267 (p. 240). Grdseloff points out that originally there appears to have been a pot which bore the name  $b$ ; (cf. also du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires*, 79 ff., though I am rather inclined to doubt his conclusion that this was

a lamp). This pot was spouted (Fig. 57)<sup>(1)</sup> and it was through a degradation of form and confusion that the form  $\text{𐀆}$  arose, which in turn was confused with  $\text{𐀇}$ . The chain of development, apart from the instances quoted in the preceding footnote, is apparent in the following spellings of the name of the god  $B^3$ -*pf*:  $\text{𐀆𐀇}$  (Tomb of Meresonkh III, Giza, unpublished),  $\text{𐀆𐀇}$ , varr.  $\text{𐀆𐀇}$ ,  $\text{𐀆𐀇}$  (cf. *Pyr.* 334a and SETHE, *Kommentar*, II, 17),  $\text{𐀆𐀇}$  (unpublished statue of Queen  $Ti^3$  found by Selim Bey Hassan at Giza),  $\text{𐀆𐀇}$  (BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 28).

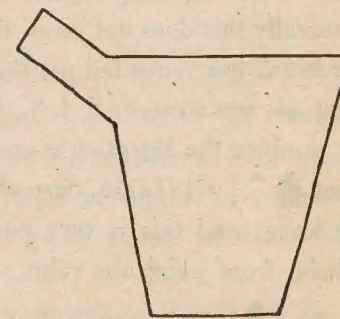


Fig. 57.

10.  $\text{𐀈}$ , No. 293 (p. 244). Grdseloff remarks that  $\text{𐀈}$  represents the bolt  $\text{𐀉}$  around which is twined the string by which the bolt is drawn (cf. KÖNIGSBERGER, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, 41) and thus  $\text{𐀈}$  with the value  $s$  is only a variation (*variation matérielle*) of  $\text{𐀉}$ . This is a more satisfactory explanation than mine and I accept it. Moreover, it appears to be confirmed by the substitution of  $\text{𐀉}$  for  $\text{𐀈}$   $s$  in  $\text{𐀉𐀉}$  (II, 41, 2); cf. Junker's note in *Z.Ä.S.*, 43, 119.

11.  $\text{𐀊}$ , No. 297 (p. 245). Hitherto no convincing explanation has been advanced for the value  $h$  borne by  $\text{𐀊}$ . Grdseloff suggests that the value is derived from  $\text{𐀋}$  *ht* "wick" and that it is for this reason that  $\text{𐀊}$  is used as the determinative of  $\text{𐀌}$  *tk*; "torch, candle" (SETHE, *Zur Geschichte der Balsamierung*, pl. 11; cf. SCHOTT in *Z.Ä.S.*, 73, 8 and *Wb. d. äg. Spr.*, III, 39).

12.  $\text{𐀍}$ , No. 302 (p. 245). It is generally agreed that  $\text{𐀍}$  represents a pot-stand which occurs in a variety of forms (cf. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, IV, 25, fig. 36; 26, figs. 37, 38) but hitherto its name has not been brought to notice. Grdseloff

<sup>(1)</sup> From a drawing made by Grdseloff in the Tomb of Meresonkh III at Giza (in the first example quoted of  $B^3$ -*pf*). A

somewhat similar if not identical form occurs in the Pyramid Texts, e. g. *Pyr.* 1098c, 1378c and 1478c.





La science moderne n'a pu que confirmer l'exactitude des observations des Anciens : un excellent dessin de la vipère céraste exécuté par Desève figure à la pl. 40 de l'ouvrage du naturaliste C. S. SONNINI, *Histoire Naturelle des Reptiles*, Paris 1830, t. III (voir fig. 58).

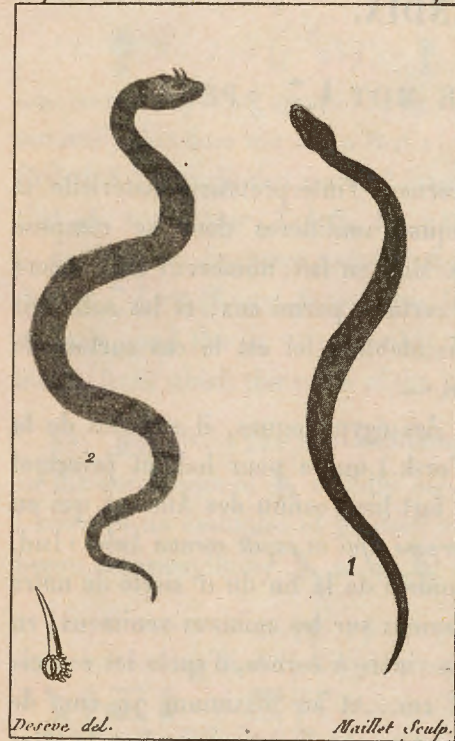


Fig. 58.

*Dw-f-t* du nom géographique en question ne peut évidemment pas servir de base pour l'établissement de la lecture de son élément  $\text{~}$ , puisqu'elle appartient à cette période décadente de l'écriture hiéroglyphique où des noms géographiques du genre masculin, recevaient arbitrairement la désinence féminine *t*, purement graphique, en vue de former le groupe stéréotype  $\text{~}$ , servant alors de déterminatif à la plupart des noms géographiques<sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Alan H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 466, I 9; Gustave LEFEBVRE, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique*, p. 395.

<sup>(2)</sup> SETHE, *Urgeschichte*, p. 44.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cette corruption est due à l'hiéroglyphique qui a développé le groupe  $\text{~}$  ré-interprété en hiéroglyphe par  $\text{~}$ .

A un moment donné, Griffith<sup>(1)</sup> défendait une thèse très différente, croyant reconnaître dans le signe  $\text{~}$  une limace. Son principal argument était fondé sur un dessin de Prisse d'Avennes<sup>(2)</sup> reproduisant une peinture thébaine où l'on apercevait un reptile fort semblable au signe  $\text{~}$ , rampant le long de la tige d'un lotus. A vrai dire, ce vieux dessin incontrôlable, offre peu de garanties, et le reptile qui y figure peut être un vers quelconque autant qu'une limace.

Aujourd'hui, plusieurs autres considérations entrent encore en ligne contre cette identification avec la limace. D'abord, le nom du reptile  $\text{~}$  est conservé en démotique sous la forme  $\text{~}$  *f:j-w* (= *ff*) que Spiegelberg avait jadis commentée dans son *Mythus vom Sonnenauge*<sup>(3)</sup>. Dans ce texte, il est dit d'un chat que «le souffle embrasé de sa gueule était une flamme comme chez le reptile *ff*» (8, 12). Déjà ce contexte contredit la thèse de Griffith, et pour la faire crouler entièrement, une fois pour toutes, il suffit de se référer à certaines formules magiques qui sont inscrites sur une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III trouvée récemment à Almaza<sup>(4)</sup>. Les formules III et IX y sont consacrées à la  $\text{~}$   $\text{~}$  (var.  $\text{~}$  -  $\text{~}$  -  $\text{~}$  -  $\text{~}$ ) «conjuraton du serpent *f*», et l'on y parle à plusieurs reprises d'un  $\text{~}$  -  $\text{~}$  «*f* d'une coudée», c'est-à-dire de 0 m., 52 qui serait aussi méchant qu'un serpent de 12 coudées. C'est encore de son caractère redoutable que dérive l'usage assez répandu dans les Textes des Pyramides<sup>(5)</sup> et ailleurs<sup>(6)</sup>, d'écrire le signe  $\text{~}$  coupé en deux parties  $\text{~}$ , pour le rendre en quelque sorte inoffensif, dans le domaine de la magie scripturale. Il s'agissait par conséquent d'un reptile venimeux. Enfin, d'après une observation de Borchardt<sup>(7)</sup> sur le cercueil d'Enôtès<sup>(8)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 24.

<sup>(2)</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan III*, p. 23.

<sup>(3)</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Mythus vom Sonnenauge*, p. 135; cf. GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, vol. III, p. 33, no. 333 : «*fy* subst. «cerastes» 24/27 [V. 3/1]».

<sup>(4)</sup> Étienne DRIOTON, *Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III*, *Annales* vol.


39, p. 70-71.





<sup>(5)</sup> LACAU, *Mutilation de signes, etc.*, *ÄZ.*, 51, 56.













<sup>(6)</sup> Jakob POLOTSKY, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie*, S 12, p. 11.


<sup>(7)</sup> Ludwig BORCHARDT, *ÄZ.*, 35, p. 105.

<sup>(8)</sup> Pour la lecture, voir ERMAN, *Der Name Antef*, *ÄZ.*, 39, p. 147.

(*'In itj*) à Berlin, le reptile  y est représenté partout dans les inscriptions avec une langue fourchue.

Tout cela évidemment exclut l'identification avec l'inoffensive limace, et nous met sur la voie pour retrouver la lecture authentique du nom du serpent , la vipère à cornes. En fait, dans un passage des Textes des Pyramides qui appartient à la même famille de textes magiques pour la conjuration de serpents, mais d'une origine beaucoup plus ancienne que le texte qui recouvre la nouvelle statue prophylactique d'Almaza, ce même reptile est mentionné en « scriptio plena »   *wfj*.<sup>(1)</sup> C'est de ce mot donc que dérive, en faisant abstraction des consonnes faibles, conformément au principe consonantal de M<sup>r</sup> Fairman, le phonogramme  *f* de l'« alphabet » classique.
























Les déterminatifs  de *wfj* dans les Textes des Pyramides et  de  sur la statue prophylactique représentant la vipère sans les cornes, ne constituent pas un obstacle pour notre identification qui est suffisamment étayée par la variante  . Il va sans dire, qu'il s'agit ici de déterminatifs génériques de serpents. D'ailleurs, à l'origine, d'après la paléographie archaïque de M<sup>r</sup> Emery<sup>(2)</sup>, le signe  est toujours figuré sans les cornes dans les inscriptions du début de la Première Dynastie. Plus tard, seulement, les Égyptiens ont adopté, par suite d'une observation plus précise, la forme habituelle , où toutefois, les proportions des cornes du reptile ont été grandement exagérées; en nature, elles sont à peine perceptibles. Mais encore sous l'Ancien Empire, sans parler des époques plus récentes, on rencontre sporadiquement le signe  sous la forme . Il en est ainsi par exemple dans l'inscription de Nenki (IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie); cf. *Urk.*, I, 260 : ,  et .

A côté de la valeur primaire *f* du phonogramme , il s'est développée plus tard une valeur secondaire *t* que nous pouvons attester plus d'une fois. M<sup>r</sup> Fairman me communique à ce sujet un exemple tiré du

<sup>(1)</sup> *Pyr.* 419c. — Un serpent du nom de « *efa* » est mentionné par les auteurs grecs et a été identifié avec l'« *Echis carinata* Schn. » Cf. PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Bd. II A (1921), *sub voce*

« *Schlange* », p. 544 et suiv.

<sup>(2)</sup> Walter B. EMERY, *Hor-Aha, Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938*, Cairo 1939, p. 91, no. 27.


Temple d'Edfou (VI, 112, 5), dans le mot   *hftjw* « les ennemis », et un autre cas intéressant dans l'Hypogée de Sési I<sup>er</sup> où le nom d'un génie se lit :   *Hrj-w'ri* « le préposé au cordage » (Lefébure, pl. XXIII; cf. la variante ). En réalité, cependant, ce phénomène jusqu'ici insoupçonné, remonte à une plus haute date, et l'on peut citer des exemples tirés d'inscriptions de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Ainsi, tout au début de l'Hymne au Soleil des architectes Souti et Hor, on lit en guise de titre : \*     « Adoration d'Amon, quand il se lève en tant qu'Harakhtès »<sup>(1)</sup>, où  est évidemment une graphie particulière de la conjonction  *hft* « quand ». Puis, dans le nom propre masculin   *'Itrwj* (*Paheri*, pl. IX, l. 36), var.   (ibid., pl. X, east side), nous retrouvons une formation en nisé qui dérive du substantif   (*Pyr.* 1693) « la saison » (pluriel du mot *tr* « temps » avec une vocalisation telle que \**i'tréw*). Ce dernier exemple, surtout, nous paraît de très grande portée : il tranche finalement le problème, si longtemps discuté, de l'interprétation phonétique du groupe  « père » en faveur des vues exprimées à ce sujet en dernier lieu par Eugène Dévaud<sup>(2)</sup>, tout en nous montrant que la valeur secondaire *t* du signe  constitue une dérivation consonantale du mot  *it(j)* « père ». C'est à Dévaud que reviendra, dès lors, le mérite d'avoir montré pour la première fois, qu'après tout peut-être, le signe  dans la graphie ordinaire  n'aurait pas la valeur *f*, mais constituerait en fait l'idéogramme d'une vipère à cornes pour le concept de « père », genre de personnification animale du chef de la famille, tout comme cette sorte de vautour :  *mw-t*, fut celle de la mère dans le système graphique de toutes les périodes de l'antiquité égyptienne.

Il était toujours gênant d'admettre l'existence de deux vocables en égyptien pour le mot « père »<sup>(3)</sup>, différant seulement par l'adjonction d'un *f*

<sup>(1)</sup> Dernière réédition : Alexandre VARRILLE, *L'Hymne au Soleil des Architectes Souti et Hor*, *BIFAO*, 41, p. 25. L'auteur ne semble pas avoir été frappé par le caractère anormal de cette graphie de *hft*.




<sup>(2)</sup> Eugène DÉVAUD, *Études et Notes*,



etc., VII. — *L'État radical du mot « père » en Égyptien* (*Kemé*, I, p. 142-143).



<sup>(3)</sup> Voici, à titre d'aide-mémoire, une liste bibliographique sur la question : Wilhelm SPIEGELBERG, *Varia*, LXXIII : *Die Lesung der Gruppe  Itf (?) « Vater »*, *Rec. de Trav.*, vol. 26, p. 148-



e) Dans les formes du pluriel du mot *itj* « père », la vipère à cornes se révèle encore comme signe-mot par sa triple répétition :

1.  *it(j) ityw* « père des pères » (*Edfou*, II, 37, 9).
2.  « les pères » (*Urk.*, IV, 554; Stèle de Kouban, l. 22).
3.  « ses pères » (Caire, 20164; Moyen Emp.).

f) A titre de curiosité, citons encore pour le pluriel la forme  (*Edfou*, VII, p. 3 et 11), qui est une variation de la graphie  en ce sens que les deux premiers signes sont remplacés par leurs phonogrammes correspondants.

Ainsi, force nous est de conclure que dans le mot  « père », le signe  n'est pas un phonogramme, mais un idéogramme symbolique. Dès lors, il n'y avait en égyptien qu'un seul vocable pour le mot « père », à savoir *it(j)*, dont le phonétisme s'apparente évidemment avec le même mot dans les langues syro-cananéenne et accadienne : *ad*, *adda*.<sup>(1)</sup>

B. GRDSELOFF.

<sup>(1)</sup> S. YEIVIN, *Studies in comparative Egypto-Semitic*, Kémi, 6, p. 67.

## PROCÉDÉ ACROPHONIQUE OU PRINCIPE CONSONANTAL?

Une théorie nouvelle vient d'être exposée dans ces *Annales* mêmes<sup>(1)</sup>, relativement aux origines des valeurs unilittères attribuées dans les inscriptions ptolémaïques à un certain nombre de signes hiéroglyphiques qui ne jouissent, dans l'écriture normale des époques plus anciennes, que de valeurs plurilittères ou pictographiques.

Son auteur explique ce phénomène par le développement tardif, activé seulement par les circonstances, d'une tendance qui aurait toujours existé, plus ou moins virtuellement, dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique. Ce développement serait donc essentiellement *naturel*.

Pour fixer le point de départ de cette tendance, il est nécessaire, selon M. Fairman<sup>(2)</sup>, de remonter jusqu'à la formation même de l'écriture hiéroglyphique. Les signes unilittères primitifs furent d'abord tous ceux qui figuraient des objets dont le nom ne comportait qu'une seule consonne forte. En vertu de la convention fondamentale de l'écriture hiéroglyphique, de ne pas écrire les voyelles et de négliger à volonté les articulations faibles, d'ailleurs passées la plupart du temps à l'état de voyelles, tous ces signes servirent indifféremment à noter des consonnes simples.

Leur variété fut alors telle qu'un tri s'imposa de lui-même pour clarifier l'écriture. Les scribes déterminèrent d'un commun accord un signe

<sup>(1)</sup> FAIRMAN, *Notes on the alphabetic signs employed in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu*, with an Appendix by

B. GRDSELOFF, plus haut, p. 191-305.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

unique pour chaque articulation prise à l'état isolé. Il fut entendu par le fait que les autres signes cesseraient de rendre le même service. On ne les utilisa plus normalement que comme signes-mots ou, s'ils correspondaient à un complexe de consonne forte et consonne faible, comme signes plurilittères, par rébus. Seulement, en vertu de l'impulsion originelle, tandis que les signes unilittères réguliers gardèrent par la suite la faculté d'exprimer exceptionnellement le complexe phonétique dont ils étaient le résidu, les signes plurilittères composés d'une consonne forte et d'une faible retinrent toujours par tradition une aptitude congénitable à servir de notation à leur seule consonne forte, sans tenir compte de l'élément faible qui la complétait.

En l'expliquant selon ses principes, M. Fairman trouve dans l'«écriture par groupes»<sup>(1)</sup>, qui commença à se développer à la fin de l'Ancien Empire, un appui sérieux pour sa théorie et le chaînon qui, par l'intermédiaire des cryptogrammes monumentaux du Nouvel Empire (qu'il fait dériver de la même tradition), lui permet de rattacher les signes unilittères de l'époque ptolémaïque à un procédé archaïque, et d'après lui toujours vivace, de signification. On se reportera au mémoire de M. Fairman pour le détail de ses exposés et de ses preuves.

Sa théorie se trouve résumée, comme par un symbole, dans le terme de «principe consonantal»<sup>(2)</sup>. De fait, si elle est juste, le mécanisme

<sup>(1)</sup> C'est l'expression dont M. Edgerton se sert pour désigner les phénomènes graphiques qualifiés auparavant d'«orthographe syllabique» par Max Müller. Cf. EDGERTON, *Egyptian phonetic writing, from its invention to the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, dans le *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LX, p. 473-506.

<sup>(2)</sup> J'avais moi-même usé de cette expression, empruntée à M. Fairman, dans ma plus récente étude sur la cryptographie (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XLI (1942), p. 128-132),

dans l'intention d'unifier nos terminologies. Cf. FAIRMAN, *Notes on the alphabetic signs...*, p. 287, note 1. Mais, comme M. Fairman l'a remarqué avec justesse (*ibid.*, p. 300, note 1), nous n'avons jamais employé le mot exactement dans le même sens. Maintenant que, grâce au mémoire de M. Fairman, la définition du terme, et surtout sa signification en rapport avec sa théorie générale, sont parfaitement éclaircies, je dois avouer que je n'ai jamais songé à le prendre dans cette acception.

du principe consonantal, tel qu'il le conçoit, est la seule explication normale de la valeur unilittère des signes d'époque ptolémaïque. Pas plus que le procédé d'acrophonie n'a pu avoir de part (on le pense du moins communément) dans la formation du premier alphabet hiéroglyphique, il n'a pu intervenir régulièrement dans les formations plus récentes, qui se sont faites d'après les mêmes lois. Aussi c'est en toute logique avec son système que M. Fairman trace à l'emploi possible du procédé d'acrophonie des limites si resserrées qu'elles ne lui laissent pratiquement aucune place<sup>(1)</sup>. Il ne l'admet que pour des







<sup>(1)</sup> M. Fairman en effet (p. 304-305) recommande de ne jamais avoir recours à l'explication par acrophonie, sans avoir auparavant épuisé toutes les autres possibilités; mais comme, parmi celles-ci, il mentionne l'origine inconnue (p. 288), il se trouve par le fait même creuser un fossé infranchissable devant cette explication.

Il est bien vrai que l'on ne connaît pas absolument tous les mots de la langue égyptienne antique. Pourtant, étant donnée la masse de textes, de toute nature et de toutes les époques, utilisés pour la rédaction du *Wörterbuch*, on peut légitimement penser que les mots qui manquent sont des termes relativement rares.


D'ailleurs, si la théorie du procédé acrophonique, que je défends dans cet article, est exacte, le danger d'avoir affaire à un mot rare pour expliquer une origine de signe est en réalité beaucoup plus éloigné qu'on ne se le figure en se plaçant dans l'hypothèse du principe consonantal. D'après celle-ci la nécessité de trouver un mot de base qui satisfasse aux conditions requises a pu


entraîner le scribe antique à choisir un mot peu usité. Mais s'il a procédé par acrophonie, il n'a pas éprouvé cette nécessité, et il a pu choisir en toute liberté le mot qui correspondait exactement, et normalement, à l'image qu'il dessinait. Ce devait être d'ordinaire un terme assez courant.

Quant au contrôle que la théorie du principe consonantal réclame le privilège de pouvoir seule exercer sur les possibilités de dérivation, en en restreignant le nombre (p. 305), il existe aussi efficace dans celle du procédé acrophonique, mais sur un autre terrain: il ne porte pas, il est vrai, sur les conditions d'expression phonétique, mais sur l'exactitude de l'équation entre l'image et le mot choisi. C'est ainsi que d'après ce critère, les origines proposées par M. Fairman :


 = b, par dérivation de   
 «âme» (n° 170a)  
 = c par dérivation de   
 «bras» (n° 189d)  
 = t par dérivation de   
 «terre» (n° 199)


cas extrêmement rares, et le considère comme un expédient adventice <sup>(1)</sup>.

★ = b par dérivation de   
«buisson» (n° 267a)

—e— = s par dérivation de   
«se hâter» (n° 293)

sont absolument impossibles, parce que les mots d'origine ne sont pas suggérés par les signes en question. Quant aux dérivations :

● = s par dérivation de   
«fils» (n° 16e)

— = m par dérivation de   
«bâton» (n° 204)

elles sont plus que douteuses : un œuf ne peut guère être défini un fils, puisqu'il peut tout aussi bien être une fille, et — figure une branche ou du bois mort, presque certainement pas un bâton.

<sup>(1)</sup> C'est pourquoi M. Fairman estime que les essais tentés récemment pour élucider des cryptogrammes plus anciens en s'appuyant sur des dérivations acrophoniques ont « manifestement et pitoyablement échoué ». Pourtant la preuve péremptoire qu'il prétend en donner (p. 305, n. 1), la bonne histoire des trois déchiffrements différents fournis en même temps pour le cryptogramme d'Athribis, est en réalité sans valeur. Le fait allégué, d'abord, n'est pas exact. M. Hamza (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XXXVIII (1938),

p. 200) n'a pas proposé de déchiffrement, puisqu'il s'est contenté d'écrire : « Le groupe de cinq signes aussi semble être énigmatique, et peut exprimer des épithètes, soit du cœur d'Osiris, soit de la divinité qui habitait le temple, à savoir Horus-Knenty-Khety, qui était associé à Osiris ». M. Blackman (*Liverpool Annals*, XXV, p. 136-137) n'a pas prétendu traiter définitivement la question : il s'est contenté d'émettre, avec réserves, une suggestion qu'il estime seulement « n'être pas tout à fait impossible ». Il ne reste donc qu'un déchiffrement (DRIOTON, *Note sur un cryptogramme récemment découvert à Athribis*, dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XXXVIII (1938), p. 109-116) qui ait l'intention d'en être un et qui puisse être critiqué comme tel. Mais même si le fait était réel, il ne prouverait rien, car il faudrait alors admettre que, *si parva licet componere magnis*, puisque Champollion et Young ont proposé des analyses contradictoires des cartouches de Ptolémée et de Cléopâtre, leurs méthodes doivent être tenues pour également erronées ; il faudrait de plus abandonner tout espoir de déchiffrer jamais le fameux cryptogramme, car toute solution nouvelle sera forcément la quatrième, et devra automatiquement être tenue pour fausse.

\*  
\* \*






Mais la théorie de M. Fairman est-elle juste?

Sans entrer dans les discussions de détail, on peut lui opposer de sérieuses objections de principe :

1° Son hypothèse fondamentale d'une multiplicité originelle des signes unilittères reste entièrement à démontrer.

Bien que le déchiffrement des plus anciennes inscriptions hiéroglyphiques connues, sur les tablettes d'ivoire, les cylindres ou les stèles de fonctionnaires royaux trouvées à Abydos, soit à peine amorcé, il ne semble pas devoir corroborer la supposition d'un syllabaire aussi anarchique, ni aussi abondant en homophones, qu'il serait nécessaire pour la théorie de M. Fairman.

2° Le point d'appui offert à cette théorie par l'« écriture par groupes », même en admettant que sa nature corresponde aux vues de MM. Edgerton et Fairman, est des plus précaires.

Les exemples allégués pour l'Ancien Empire se réduisent à , , ,  et . D'abord il est difficile d'asseoir des conclusions fermes sur un aussi petit nombre d'exemples, et aussi discutables. Mais surtout il ne s'agit là, comme dans l'écriture par groupes, plus abondante, des époques suivantes, que de quelques signes très usuels, et toujours les mêmes. Les autres signes, plus ou moins fréquents, parmi lesquels le syllabaire ptolémaïque a choisi ses unilittères, ne paraissent pas avoir été jamais en usage dans l'écriture par groupes.

3° En tout cas, puisque c'est là un des points de suture de la théorie, il est regrettable pour elle que l'écriture par groupes n'offre pas plus de points de comparaison matériels avec ce que M. Fairman appelle les « cryptogrammes monumentaux » <sup>(1)</sup> du Nouvel Empire, sans d'ailleurs préciser à quels cryptogrammes il se réfère.

Les seuls cryptogrammes monumentaux sur lesquels on puisse sérieusement tableur pour élucider la question sont ceux dont la transcription

<sup>(1)</sup> FAIRMAN, *Notes ...*, p. 293.

a été indiquée par les anciens Égyptiens eux-mêmes, comme la dédicace de Sêti I<sup>er</sup> dans une chapelle du temple de Gournah <sup>(1)</sup>, les protocoles de Ramsès II à Louxor <sup>(2)</sup> et à Abou-Simbel <sup>(3)</sup>, ou bien relève de l'évidence, comme les cartouches ornementaux d'Abydos <sup>(4)</sup>. S'appuyer, pour prouver une théorie, sur d'autres documents déchiffrés sous l'influence de cette théorie serait risquer le cercle vicieux.

Or, dans tous les documents qu'on vient de signaler, la majeure partie de la signification est obtenue par figuration directe, symbolisme ou rébus. On n'y relève <sup>(5)</sup>, comme signes unilittères, que :

SIGNES	VALEURS	CHAPELLE DE GOURNAH CRYPT. N <sup>os</sup>	LOUXOR CRYPT. N <sup>os</sup>	ABYDOS CRYPT.	ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE
	m		34		
	s	3		Ag	BRUGSCH, n° 41
	w		35		
	h		22		
	n		21		FAIRMAN, n° 97

a. Le dieu tient une croix ansée. — b. La déesse Nout est figurée debout, tenant un sceptre *ouas*; le vase  $\pi$  se détache sur le fond d'un disque posé sur sa tête.

<sup>(1)</sup> Publiée par DRIOTON, *Recueil de cryptographie monumentale*, dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XL (1940), p. 309-314.

<sup>(2)</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler...*, III, pl. 149b. Cf. DRIOTON, *loc. cit.*, p. 319-328.

<sup>(3)</sup> DRIOTON, *loc. cit.*, p. 315-319.

<sup>(4)</sup> MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, pl. 41. Cf. DRIOTON, *Les protocoles ornementaux d'A-*

*bydos*, dans la *Revue d'Égyptologie*, II (1935), p. 1-20.

<sup>(5)</sup> Les numéros ou sigles figurant dans les tableaux de cet article sont ceux des cryptogrammes dans les publications citées. La mention FAIRMAN renvoie à la liste de son mémoire, BRUGSCH et LORET aux tableaux d'hieroglyphes de leurs grammaires.

SIGNES	VALEURS	CHAPELLE DE GOURNAH CRYPT. N <sup>os</sup>	LOUXOR CRYPT. N <sup>os</sup>	ABYDOS CRYPT.	ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE
	s		36		
	i		41		
	m	8			FAIRMAN, n° 178
	n	18			
	t		33 bis		FAIRMAN, n° 310
	s	14		Dg.	FAIRMAN, n° 274
	n	13		De Eh	FAIRMAN, n° 270
	t	4		Ag	

Ces signes (qui ne sont qu'une partie infime du matériel graphique de ces textes cryptographiques) ne comptent qu'un signe de commun,  $\dagger$ , avec ceux de l'écriture par groupes de l'époque <sup>(1)</sup>. Prétendre que c'est l'esprit du système qui est le même, sans que le matériel graphique le soit, serait s'avancer sur un terrain bien inconsistant.

Par contre, la moitié de ces signes se retrouvent tels quels dans l'écriture ptolémaïque. De ce côté, la liaison établie par M. Fairman est démontrée.

4° En introduisant les cryptogrammes monumentaux du Nouvel

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir les tableaux de ces signes dans ALBRIGHT, *The vocalization of the Egyptian syllabic orthography*, New Haven 1934, p. 31-32. Il convient d'ajouter que ces signes présentent dans

l'ensemble un caractère de spécification et de constance dans la signification qui est en contraste absolu avec l'esprit de la cryptographie de même époque.

Empire dans sa synthèse, et en les rattachant pour leur explication à l'écriture par groupes, la nouvelle théorie les isole arbitrairement d'un ensemble de textes cryptographiques dont ils font partie intégrante, et dont elle ne tient aucun compte.

D'autant plus que ces textes cryptographiques ne sont pas la *terra incognita* qu'on pourrait prétendre pour les tenir à l'écart.

Même en négligeant, pour la bonne méthode, les résultats auxquels on a pu arriver depuis dix ans sur des cryptogrammes entièrement à déchiffrer, il n'en reste pas moins que l'on possède, en plus des cryptogrammes monumentaux signalés plus haut, deux documents cryptographiques d'époques différentes dont la transcription est sûre : une version en écriture secrète du chapitre LXXXV du *Livre des Morts*<sup>(1)</sup>, datant de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, estampée jadis par Devéria dans le tombeau de Khâ-em-hêt, et des feuillets empruntés à un carnet de cryptographe d'époque gréco-romaine<sup>(2)</sup>, qui fournissent aussi un certain nombre d'équivalences indiscutables.

Avant de se prononcer définitivement sur le caractère des cryptogrammes monumentaux auxquels tant de signes de l'écriture ptolémaïque s'apparentent si évidemment, il est indispensable d'examiner ces autres témoins de la même tradition graphique, afin d'y recueillir, s'il y a lieu, des indications utiles.

<sup>(1)</sup> DRIOTON, *Essai de la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, dans la *Revue d'Égyptologie*, I (1933), p. 2-14.

<sup>(2)</sup> BUDGE, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Papyri in the British Museum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series,

Londres 1923, pl. XXXVII et XXXVIII. Cf. DRIOTON, *La cryptographie du Papyrus Salt 825*, dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XLI (1942), p. 99-134.

\*  
\* \*

La version en écriture secrète du chapitre LXXXV du *Livre des Morts* au tombeau de Khâ-em-hêt utilise les unilittères suivants :

SIGNES	VALEURS	EMPLOYÉS DANS LES GROUPES CRYPTOGRAPHIQUES N <sup>os</sup>	ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE
	m	52	
	f	46. 103	FAIRMAN, n° 3
	b	13. 93	FAIRMAN, n° 16 d
	i	112	
	h	42. 98. 144	BRUGSCH, n° 17
	k	50	Cf. FAIRMAN, n° 27 2a
	.	52	
	b	9. 77. 85. 128	
	t	40. 147	
	n	16. 40. 134. 138	
	h	64. 72. 73	FAIRMAN, n° 225
	r	114	FAIRMAN, n° 115
	i	123	
	p	39. 45. 61. 70. 80. 108. 131. 137	FAIRMAN, n° 116
	d	96	FAIRMAN, n° 132 d
	m	6. 36. 111	
	i	146	BRUGSCH, n° 116



SIGNES	VALEURS	EMPLOYÉS DANS LES GROUPE CRYPTOGRAPHIQUES N <sup>os</sup>	ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE
	i	57	
	r	2. 112	FAIRMAN, n° 148
	h	66	
	i	100	
	h	43. 56	FAIRMAN, n° 159
	m	3. 51. 59. 68. 117	
	k	11. 58. 98	LORET, n° 298
ccc	h	99. 101	
	s	65. 102	FAIRMAN, n° 185 c
	h	16. 134. 138	FAIRMAN, n° 185 b
	r	60	FAIRMAN, n° 185 b
	d	86. 95	FAIRMAN, n° 193 b
d	d	17	
	f	58. 74. 110	BRUGSCH, n° 276
	r	13	FAIRMAN, n° 194 a
	s	54	
	r	34. 93	LORET, n° 413
	i	54. 61. 70. 72. 74. 121	LORET, n° 434
	h	9. 85	FAIRMAN, n° 209 a
	n	62	JUNKER, <i>Dendera Schr.</i> , p <sup>re</sup> 7 et 16
	p	78	
	m	42	
	b	34. 32. 8. 63. 107. 109. 130. 132	FAIRMAN, n° 267 a
	i	118	

SIGNES	VALEURS	EMPLOYÉS DANS LES GROUPE CRYPTOGRAPHIQUES N <sup>os</sup>	ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE
	n	12. 71	FAIRMAN, n° 270
	s	11. 49. 96. 98	FAIRMAN, n° 274
	w	98. 125	
	t	6	FAIRMAN, n° 288 a
ø	s	58	BRUGSCH, n° 481
	c	27. 34. 66. 129	FAIRMAN, n° 301 a
	t	57. 89	
	t	9	FAIRMAN, n° 308
	d	65	FAIRMAN, n° 312 a
i	i	31. 41. 65. 83. 102. 114. 118	Cf. FAIRMAN, n° 314 a
	s	14	FAIRMAN, n° 319

Les transcriptions du Papyrus Salt 825 établissent les équivalences unilittères :

SIGNES	VALEURS	RÉFÉRENCES	ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE
	n	XVI, 1	
	h	XV, 2. XVI, 1	
	c	XV, 3	

SIGNES	VALEURS	RÉFÉRENCES	ÉPOQUE PTOLÉMAÏQUE
	r	XVI, 3	
	w	XVI, 1	
	š	XV, 2	FAIRMAN, n° 189 a
	n	XV, 1	
	r	XVI, 1	BRUGSCH, n° 472
	m	XVI, 1. 3	FAIRMAN, n° 245 b
	š	XVI, 1	
	m	XVI, 1. 1. 3	
	i	XVI, 1	
	t	XV, 3	
	n	XV, 2	
	n	XV, 1	FAIRMAN, n° 304 a
	w	XVI, 3	
	n	XV, 3	

Des deux textes qui font usage de ces syllabaires, c'est celui de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, parce qu'il est de beaucoup le plus développé, qui permet le mieux d'observer les caractéristiques et le mécanisme de cette écriture cryptographique, étroitement apparentée dans son ensemble aux graphies caractéristiques de l'écriture ptolémaïque. Les remarques n'en auront que plus de valeur, parce qu'elles vaudront pour une plus haute époque.

Une première particularité qui frappe dans son alphabet, et qui le différencie aussi bien de l'alphabet normal que du syllabaire de l'écriture par groupes de cette époque, est le grand nombre d'homophones, comme :

i =

r =

Il n'y a rien là du reste qui puisse gêner la théorie du principe consonantal, bien au contraire, cette théorie reconnaissant précisément comme une survivance de l'état primitif la multiplicité de signes pour une seule et même articulation.

Le second trait spécial est la présence dans cet alphabet de plusieurs signes jouissant de deux, ou même de trois valeurs :

● = b, n, t

→ = p, t

∞ = f, r, d

∞ = r, h, s

Cela aussi peut cadrer avec les postulats de la théorie du principe consonantal. L'existence de ces signes équivoques serait alors le résultat de l'anarchie que cette théorie présuppose dans l'élaboration première de l'alphabet.

Mais où l'on commence à soupçonner que cette anarchie apparente pourrait bien être plutôt l'effet d'un procédé conscient, c'est lorsqu'on est mis en présence d'équivalences multiples comme :

●● { = (40)

          = (48)

          = (106),

pour lesquelles l'intention de poser une énigme à la sagacité du lecteur paraît être la meilleure explication, car rien n'a pu obliger le scribe, si ce n'est le dessein d'obscurcir son texte, à choisir, dans un syllabaire aussi riche, deux signes identiques, et cela pour exprimer trois mots différents.

Le soupçon d'ailleurs se change en certitude si l'on considère les nombreux cas où, dans ce texte relativement court, les signes cryptographiques ont été choisis et ordonnés de façon à créer de toutes pièces l'illusion de mots écrits en clair, n'ayant aucun rapport avec la signification réelle :

	<i>isf(.w)t</i>	« iniquités »	(46. 103)
	<i>nh(h)</i>	« éternité »	(16. 134. 138)
	<i>s.t-i</i>	« ma place »	(102)
	<i>r nb</i>	« chaque jour »	(75)
	<i>i(3).t</i>	« pavois »	(100)
	<i>.t</i>	« chambre »	(27)
	<i>d(3).t</i>	« monde souterrain »	(86)

Il ne peut guère s'agir dans tous ces cas, étant donné leur fréquence, de rencontres fortuites résultant de la nature anarchique d'un procédé de signification. Ce sont plutôt des combinaisons voulues, qui laissent transparaître un souci d'énigme et qui mettent en lumière le caractère *artificiel* du système d'écriture.

La constatation est importante, car elle atteint le nœud de la question. Elle est de plus riche en conséquences, puisqu'elle entraîne une interprétation des faits diamétralement opposée à la théorie du principe consonantal.

Si en effet l'écriture cryptographique se révèle artificielle, l'usage qu'elle fait de signes homophones et équivoques n'est pas à expliquer par de lointaines origines, dont on n'a pas pu encore retrouver la trace certaine, déterminant une impulsion à travers une tradition dont on essaie en vain de repérer le cheminement. Il résulte simplement d'un choix, fait d'après un principe déterminé, — le même qui a inspiré l'orthographe étrange de ce texte<sup>(1)</sup>, où tout ce qui, dans l'écriture nor-

<sup>(1)</sup> DRIOTON, *Essai sur la cryptographie privée*... p. 12-13. La suppression des déterminatifs est un procédé en opposition avec la tendance naturelle de

male, prémunissait la lecture contre les chances d'erreur (aussi bien les compléments phonétiques des signes plurilittères que les déterminatifs des mots) a été systématiquement écarté. Ce principe est celui de l'expression par énigmes.

Ce principe, qui transparaît si clairement dans la transcription cryptographique du chapitre LXXXV du *Livre des Morts*, se montre poussé jusqu'à ses dernières applications dans certaines équivalences du Papyrus Salt 825. Là l'homme qui tire de l'arc sur une cible est transcrit ; la même figure avec deux flèches fichées dans le but signifie <sup>(1)</sup>. La consonne *n* est donc représentée par les deux flèches, mais cet élément a été choisi et disposé de façon à composer un tableau n'ayant aucun rapport apparent avec le sens, ce qui est proprement une énigme<sup>(2)</sup>. Il en va de même du faucon attaché par une corde à son perchoir, dont la transcription est inscrite à côté comme étant <sup>(3)</sup>. Le faucon vaut pour , la corde pour , le perchoir pour .

Il ne faut pas ne voir là que des développements tardifs de l'écriture cryptographique. Le plus ancien cryptogramme signalé jusqu'à présent, qui remonte à la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie<sup>(4)</sup>, est précisément une composition de ce genre, insérée au milieu d'une inscription en clair de façon à se présenter comme une énigme caractérisée. La frise ornementale de la stèle C 15 du Louvre, de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, qu'on admette ou non l'interprétation que j'en ai essayée<sup>(5)</sup>, est évidemment de même nature, et l'on en trouve d'autres exemples, pour la même époque, dans

l'écriture hiéroglyphique qui est au contraire d'en augmenter le nombre. Elle est donc, elle aussi, nettement artificielle.

<sup>(1)</sup> DRIOTON, *La cryptographie du Papyrus Salt 825*... p. 103.

<sup>(2)</sup> Sur cette cryptographie « thématique », cf. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XL (1940), p. 306, note 1.

<sup>(3)</sup> DRIOTON, *La cryptographie du Papyrus Salt 825*... p. 104.

<sup>(4)</sup> Frise en calcaire n° 1696 du Musée du Caire. Cf. CAPART, *Un hiéroglyphe mystérieux*, dans *Kémi*, II (1929), p. 1-2. DRIOTON, *Un rébus de l'Ancien Empire*, dans les *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, LXVI, *Mélanges Maspero*, I (1934-1938), p. 697-704.

<sup>(5)</sup> DRIOTON, *Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire*, dans la *Revue d'Égyptologie*, I (1933), p. 203-229.

les inscriptions monumentales des tombeaux de Béni-Hassan <sup>(1)</sup>. Cette sorte d'énigmes figurées s'est développée plus tard dans les processions décoratives du Nouvel Empire. Son identité complète avec la cryptographie normale à allure d'écriture est assurée par la frise de Pinedjem I<sup>er</sup> dans le petit temple de Médinet-Habou <sup>(2)</sup>, qui débute par un cortège de dieux pour continuer en cryptographie ordinaire. D'autre part les cryptogrammes monumentaux du Nouvel Empire renferment, on l'a vu, des signes appartenant à cette cryptographie. Les uns et les autres ne sont donc, en des styles différents, que des applications d'un seul et même système.

On constate donc en Égypte, dès la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, parallèlement à l'écriture normale, une autre tradition d'écriture dont les scribes se sont servis pour composer des énigmes qu'on a reproduites en bonne place sur certains monuments privés. Cette écriture «de fantaisie» jouissait déjà de tous ses moyens <sup>(3)</sup> alors que l'«écriture par groupes» n'en était encore qu'à de timides essais. D'ailleurs le matériel graphique des deux systèmes est différent.

Si l'on admet que l'écriture cryptographique a été artificielle dès ses plus anciennes manifestations, la question de la valorisation de ses signes se pose d'une tout autre façon qu'on ne l'envisage dans la théorie du principe consonantal.













Il ne s'agit plus, en effet, de s'évertuer à imaginer par quel processus naturel les signes ont dû acquérir leurs valeurs plurilittères ou unilittères. Il suffit de constater quelle évidence s'impose sur la dérivation de ces signes, pour retrouver le procédé conventionnel mis en œuvre par la méthode ancienne.

Pour les signes plurilittères, les textes à transcription indiscutable sur












<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 205.  
<sup>(2)</sup> ΔΡΙΟΤΟΝ, *Recueil de cryptographie monumentale*... p. 328-338.  
<sup>(3)</sup> Un cas de cryptographie d'aspect

aussi élaboré que la frise de la stèle C 15 du Louvre (XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie) en est la preuve.


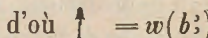

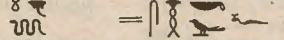
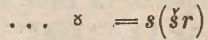

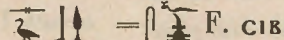
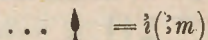

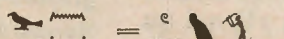



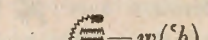

lesquels nous nous appuyons permettent de constater que leurs significations sont toujours établies par rébus :

-  = nb par rébus de  «seigneur» (Khâ-em-hêt, crypt. 75 et 145)
-  = sm(?) .....  «taureau sauvage» (*Id.*, 105)
-  = hp .....  «hippopotame» (*Id.*, 2)
-  = 'nh .....  «scarabée» (*Id.*, 5 et 53)
-  = 'h .....  «chaviré» (*Id.*, 7 et 83)
-  = ds .....  «quelqu'un qui coupe» (Salt 825, XVI, 3)

La dérivation des signes unilittères est tout aussi simple. Une première catégorie s'impose à l'attention : celle des bilittères à deuxième consonne faible transformés en unilittères par suppression de cette deuxième consonne :

-  = r(w),  = s(?),  = š(w),  = h(w),  = t(i),  = h(?),
-  = s(?),  = n(w),  = b(?),  = t(?),  = d(i).

Ces faits pourraient s'accommoder de la théorie du principe consonantal. Mais il est impossible de ne pas inclure dans la même catégorie d'autres plurilittères tout aussi normaux qui subissent le même traitement, mais qui, parce qu'ils comportent des consonnes fortes, ne peuvent satisfaire à cette théorie :

- Khâ-em-hêt, crypt. 98  =  d'où  = w(b?)
- crypt. 58  =  ...  = s(šr)
- Salt 825, XVI, 1  =  F. CIBI ...  = i(?m)
- XVI, 1  =  ...  = w(r)
- XVI, 3  =  ...  = w('b)

La seule explication qui vaille pour les deux cas est que, dans l'un comme dans l'autre, les valeurs unilittères sont obtenues par détachement artificiel de la consonne initiale, autrement dit par acrophonie.

Comme confirmation il se trouve que le même procédé rend compte avec précision de toutes les valeurs unilittères attribuées à des signes autres que les plurilittères normaux. Ces signes valent pour la consonne initiale du mot qui désigne l'objet qu'ils représentent, au propre ou (ce qui est aussi un procédé d'énigme) par métonymie. Par exemple, dans le texte de Khâ-em-hêt :

- Crypt. 57 = d'où = i(s-wt), de « testicules »
- 52 = ... = m(dw) de « quelqu'un qui parle »
- 77 = ... = (nh-t) de « œil sacré »
- 61 = ... = b(nn-t) de « boule »
- 66 = ... = p(sg) de « ce qui crache »<sup>(1)</sup>
- 11 = ... = h(ts) de « rat »
- 11 = ... = k(nm-wt) de « fourrure »

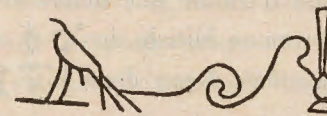
<sup>(1)</sup> M. Fairman (p. 304) accepterait plus volontiers comme étymologie, conformément à la théorie du principe consonantal, un mot \*pwi ou \*pî, dont il soupçonne l'existence sans être encore à même de la prouver.

Le mot se trouve dans l'inscription n° 275 de Médamoud, DRIOTON, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud* (1925), *Les inscriptions*, Le Caire 1926, p. 117 :

(collationné sur photographie). C'est pî, qui fait allitération avec « fécondateur ».

Il est à la base du calembour : « corps qui crache(?) » hî-pî = « Nil », qu'on trouve dès la fin du Nouvel Empire (BERGMANN, *Inedirte inschriftliche Denkmäler der kaiserl. Sammlung in Wien*, dans la *Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache* . . . , XX (1882), p. 41, n° 4 ; GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, II, p. 187), et qui s'est perpétuée jusqu'à l'époque gréco-romaine sous les formes (Wörterbuch, III, p. 42), etc. Sur ces orthographes par calembours, cf. DRIOTON, *A propos du cryptogramme de Montouemhêt*, dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XLII (1943), p. 179.

Un cas patent de ce procédé, employé dans une combinaison de cryptographie thématique, est fourni par le cryptogramme du faucon (Pap. Salt 825, XV, 3) déjà mentionné plus haut :



En prenant la première consonne des mots qui désignent chaque élément par son nom le plus simple (faucon = hm; corde = nwh; perchoir = ts), on obtient la lecture 'nt(i), qui est précisément inscrite à côté du groupe.

Cet exemple suffirait à lui seul pour démontrer l'usage, fait par les scribes égyptiens, du procédé d'acrophonie.

D'ailleurs le même procédé, mais aggravé et par conséquent accusant encore mieux son caractère artificiel, est évident dans l'équivalence établie par Devéria<sup>(1)</sup> sur la stèle C 65 du Louvre, qui date aussi de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie :



La valeur = t<sup>(2)</sup> est obtenue en détachant arbitrairement, non plus seulement la consonne initiale, mais la première syllabe tout entière, du nom de la déesse Tefnout, représentée par une lionne conformément à la tradition.

Mais les convenances de la valorisation cryptographique ne sont pas celles du calembour. Celui-ci peut sans inconvénient employer tel mot rare qu'il lui plaît, puisqu'il l'écrit. Celle-là au contraire doit, sous peine d'être indéchiffrable, suggérer par l'image un mot suffisamment connu.

C'est pourquoi, tout en reconnaissant l'existence du mot préconisé par M. Fairman, je continue à croire que la valeur cryptographique = p

est fondée sur le mot psg, terme plus usuel.

<sup>(1)</sup> DEVÉRIA, *L'écriture secrète dans les textes hiéroglyphiques des anciens Égyptiens*, dans la *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, V, Paris 1897, p. 56.

<sup>(2)</sup> Devéria (*loc. cit.*, p. 58) suggère, avec doute, cette valeur. En fait elle est confirmée par deux autres emplois identiques sur la stèle V 93 de Leyde, qui est de la même époque. DRIOTON, *Essai sur la cryptographie privée* . . . , p. 32.

En réalité donc tous les cas prétendus de principe consonantal doivent être considérés comme des acrophonies de termes monosyllabiques<sup>(1)</sup>, dès que l'on admet le caractère artificiel de l'écriture énigmatique. Il n'y a, en effet, aucune raison d'établir une différence entre l'opération de l'esprit qui détache la consonne initiale de  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$  ou de  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$  et celle qui l'isole de la même façon dans  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$  ou dans  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$ .

J'ajoute que le fait allégué par M. Fairman (p. 300), en faveur de sa thèse, que les valeurs unilittères qu'il peut expliquer par le principe consonantal sont incomparablement plus nombreuses que celles pour lesquelles il doit recourir au procédé d'acrophonie est rigoureusement exact<sup>(2)</sup>. On le constate également dans la cryptographie de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, car, sur quarante-huit signes unilittères employés dans la version énigmatique du chapitre LXXXV du *Livre des Morts* au tombeau de Khâ-em-hêt, trente-trois ont pour origine des mots qui ne renferment qu'une seule consonne forte. La raison de cette disproportion est que, dans toutes les langues, les mots qui se présentent le plus facilement, et par conséquent le plus naturellement, à l'imagination de ceux qui composent des rébus, ou d'autres jeux d'esprit du même acabit, sont les plus courts. Pour exprimer *p* de cette façon en français, on pensera à *pas*, à *pied*, à *pierre*, à *pis*, à *pot* ou à *poutre*, avant d'aller chercher *pupitre*, *pagode* ou *parallélipipède*. Les choses n'ont pas dû se passer autrement chez ces faiseurs de rébus qu'étaient en somme les cryptographes de l'ancienne Égypte, et pour expliquer le fait il n'est pas besoin d'avoir recours à la théorie du principe consonantal.

<sup>(1)</sup> Le cas est flagrant pour la valeur  $\text{𓆑} = n$  (FAIRMAN, n° 270), si elle est vraiment tirée, comme l'admet M. Fairman, du nom de la déesse, prononcé *Nnit* jusqu'à l'époque gréco-romaine.

<sup>(2)</sup> Réserve faite toutefois de la tendance, sensible chez M. Fairman, d'é-

carter systématiquement les origines par acrophonie et, par conséquent, d'expliquer par principe consonantal un certain nombre de cas, mettons une vingtaine, qui sont en réalité des cas d'acrophonie. Cf. les remarques sur sa Liste qui terminent cet article.

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\* \*

Les concordances de valeurs, signalées dans les tableaux dressés plus haut, entre les symboles cryptographiques et les signes unilittères de l'écriture ptolémaïque établissent la parenté des deux systèmes, mais non pas leur identité.

M. Fairman a parfaitement raison quand il déclare n'avoir jamais trouvé dans l'écriture ptolémaïque rien qui ressemble de près ou de loin à un jeu cryptographique ou à un jeu d'énigme<sup>(1)</sup>. De fait les signes empruntés à la tradition cryptographique y sont employés exactement comme des signes normaux, suivant les règles de l'orthographe la plus usuelle.

Mais cela n'implique pas forcément qu'il en ait été de même dans la cryptographie proprement dite. L'analyse de transcriptions sûres révèle au contraire une intention constante d'énigme. Les passages étudiés plus haut du Papyrus Salt 825, qui est contemporain des inscriptions ptolémaïques, montre la persistance jusqu'à cette époque de cette tradition de cryptographie vivante, différente dans son esprit et dans ses procédés d'expression de l'écriture, même très enrichie, des temples<sup>(2)</sup>.

Il faut donc admettre que les scribes sacerdotaux de l'époque gréco-romaine, désireux de développer leur syllabaire pour des raisons qui sont sans doute celles que M. Fairman indique<sup>(3)</sup>, ont puisé dans des carnets de cryptographes un certain nombre de signes et de valeurs, qu'ils ont utilisés dans leurs inscriptions hiéroglyphiques<sup>(4)</sup>. Mais c'est à cet

<sup>(1)</sup> FAIRMAN, *Notes* 293, p. 244.

<sup>(2)</sup> Il est curieux de relever que, des deux syllabaires cryptographiques cités plus haut (p. 327-330), c'est celui de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, et non celui d'époque gréco-romaine, qui présente le pourcentage le plus élevé de valeurs communes avec les inscriptions des temples ptolémaïques. Le fait peut d'ailleurs n'être que fortuit.

<sup>(3)</sup> FAIRMAN, *Notes* 295, p. 244.

<sup>(4)</sup> La séparation entre l'écriture normale et l'écriture de fantaisie n'avait du reste été absolument étanche à aucune époque. Dès le début du Moyen Empire, les *Coffin Texts* renferment sporadiquement des signes empruntés à l'écriture cryptographique du temps, cf. THAUSING, *Zur Lesung eines Wortes in den Sprüchen vom « Kennen der Seelen von*

emprunt purement matériel que se limitent les relations entre les deux systèmes. Dans la cryptographie proprement dite les signes sont fonction d'un procédé vivant et créateur; on les retrouve, dans l'écriture ptolémaïque, comme des entités mortes, incorporées à l'écriture normale et en subissant les lois.

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\* \*

En résumé, à l'explication par la théorie du principe consonantal des valeurs unilittères attribuées à certains signes dans l'écriture ptolémaïque, on est fondé, en se basant sur les constatations qui précèdent, à opposer les propositions suivantes :

1° Les valeurs unilittères anormales des signes traditionnels ou les signes nouveaux à valeur unilittère qui se rencontrent dans l'écriture de l'époque ptolémaïque ne sont pas le produit d'un processus naturel au sein de l'écriture normale, et suivant ses lois d'évolution.

2° Ils sont empruntés au syllabaire d'une écriture « de fantaisie », qu'on appelle communément écriture cryptographique<sup>(1)</sup>.

*Hermopolis*, dans le *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, XL (1941), p. 51-52. Plus tard, sous les XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> dynasties, les scribes semblent avoir voulu montrer leur science des mystères de l'écriture en plaçant çà et là quelques graphies cryptographiques au milieu des inscriptions qu'ils composaient, comme par exemple au tombeau de Khâ-em-hêt, LORET, *La tombe de Khâ-m-hâ*, dans les *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, I (1884), p. 111-132. Parfois même ces inscriptions comportent, inséré comme un joyau, un seul cryptogramme, mais de belle allure (cf. DRIOTON, *Deux statues naophores consacrées à Apis*, dans les

*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XLI (1942), p. 29 et 32), suivant une tradition qui remonte à la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie (Frise n° 1696 du Musée du Caire, cf. plus haut, p. 333, note 4).

<sup>(1)</sup> Le terme est commode, mais il n'est pas exact, car il implique une intention de mystère qui fait défaut la plupart du temps à cette écriture. Elle a servi quelquefois de véritable cryptographie (PIANKOFF, *Le livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, Le Caire 1942, p. 120), mais en général elle n'est qu'une écriture de fantaisie, de caractère ornemental, qui propose des énigmes pour qu'elles soient déchiffrées.

3° Cette écriture, dont la tradition ininterrompue, parallèle à celle de l'écriture normale, se révèle à partir de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, présente les caractères d'une création purement *artificielle*. Ses lois sont des règles pratiques, en accord avec les idées des scribes de l'époque<sup>(1)</sup>, qui ne sont pas nécessairement en harmonie avec les principes de la phonétique telle que nous la concevons aujourd'hui.

4° La valeur phonétique de ses signes ou symboles est obtenue normalement par rébus pour les plurilittères, et par acrophonie pour les unilittères<sup>(2)</sup>.

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\* \*

M. Fairman a placé à juste titre cette discussion, qu'il a amorcée, sur le terrain de la probabilité<sup>(3)</sup>. Il semble, à considérer l'ensemble des faits que je viens de résumer, et qui éclairent la « préhistoire » de l'écriture ptolémaïque en remontant jusqu'à la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, que la plus forte probabilité dans la question de l'origine de ses signes reste en définitive en faveur de l'emploi, par les scribes anciens, du procédé acrophonique.




<sup>(1)</sup> Il est vraisemblable que les scribes élaborèrent cette méthode selon les principes du temps et les idées qui avaient cours dans leurs écoles sur la constitution de l'écriture. Ils substituèrent seulement au matériel graphique normal un matériel graphique de fantaisie. Le procédé apparaît clairement dans les cas de « variation matérielle » (DRIOTON, *Essai sur la cryptographie privée...*, p. 9), où les images traditionnelles des objets sont remplacées par des images équivalentes, qui jouissent des mêmes valeurs.




<sup>(2)</sup> C'était donc probablement de cette façon que les scribes expliquaient la valeur des signes du syllabaire normal.





<sup>(3)</sup> FAIRMAN, *Notes on the alphabetic signs...*, p. 201. M. Fairman insiste à plusieurs reprises sur le préjugé favorable de probabilité qui doit s'attacher à la théorie qui permet de restreindre le plus rigoureusement le nombre des possibilités de dérivation. Il en serait certainement ainsi s'il s'agissait d'expliquer une écriture normale, résultant d'un processus naturel. Mais pour reconstituer la formation d'une écriture artificielle, jouant délibérément de l'équivoque, la méthode la plus probable est celle qui rend le mieux compte de la mentalité ancienne et qui s'applique à en pénétrer les procédés, même et surtout lorsqu'ils dérogent aux exigences de la logique moderne.


Aussi, en admettant cet emploi, et en se basant sur les remarques qui viennent d'être faites à son sujet, on est fondé à proposer un certain nombre de modifications aux origines indiquées par M. Fairman dans sa liste de signes. Il est à remarquer que, dans la plupart des cas, ces rectifications établissent, entre le signe et le mot signifié, des concordances plus exactes ou plus naturelles que ne le permettent les barrières arbitraires élevées par la théorie du principe consonantal.




Les plus marquantes de ces rectifications sont les suivantes :



1°. N° 16 a :  = *c*. Le mot , choisi comme origine, est si rare qu'on ne le trouve même pas mentionné au *Wörterbuch*; de plus l'exemple allégué n'appartient pas au vocabulaire d'Edfou, mais à celui de Dendérah. Une étymologie  « garçon » semble de ce chef beaucoup plus plausible.



2°. N° 16 c :  = *h*. Il en va de même jusqu'à un certain point en ce qui concerne une explication de cette valeur par  « jeune », terme relativement peu employé. Le mot  « jeune garçon » est par contre d'un usage si fréquent dans les textes de cette époque que la meilleure probabilité se trouve de son côté.











3°. N° 17 d :  = *m*. En soi le signe ne peut pas évoquer la lecture  , proposée par M. Fairman, parce que l'enfant ne porte pas de couronne sur la tête. Il est vrai qu'il sert tel quel de déterminatif à ce mot, écrit  à l'époque ptolémaïque, mais, le mot étant exprimé phonétiquement, le cas n'est pas le même : un certain relâchement peut s'introduire sans inconvénient dans la précision du pictogramme.




Le mot qui justifie ici la valeur *m* dans les meilleures conditions d'exactitude et d'emploi est le terme  « enfant ».





4°. N° 133 :  = *m*. Ce n'est pas le mot , qu'il faut alléguer comme origine, puisqu'il ne signifie pas « phallus », mais « vaisseau (du corps) », c'est le phonétique bilittère *mt*, , dont la valeur *m* est tirée par acrophonie. On a vu en effet plus haut que les scribes anciens ont appliqué le procédé aux signes plurilittères de leur syllabaire normal, pris comme tels.



5°. N° 154 c :  = *d*. La justification de l'emploi du procédé d'acrophonie par les cryptographes anciens rend inutile la démonstration, laborieuse et peu convaincante, entreprise par M. Fairman. C'est bien le mot  qui fonde la valeur. Du reste il a été établi par ailleurs<sup>(1)</sup> qu'il était dans l'usage des cryptographes de suggérer le nom d'un dieu au moyen de l'objet, ou de l'animal, qui lui étaient consacrés.

6°. N° 159 :  = *h*, mais pas à cause du mot  « aliment », qui n'a aucun rapport avec le signe. C'est par acrophonie de sa valeur bilittère *hw*. Cf. plus haut, 4°.

7°. N° 161 :  = *h*. Il est invraisemblable que ce soit en vertu d'une erreur pour  , variante ptolémaïque de , ou pour tout autre signe approchant, car le même emploi de  se trouve, dès le Moyen Empire, attesté dans les *Coffin Texts*<sup>(2)</sup> :   =  . En réalité le signe vaut pour  « peau d'animal », d'où la valeur *h* est tirée par acrophonie.

8°. N° 170 a :  = *b*. Jamais, dans l'iconographie égyptienne, le faucon pur et simple n'a été employé pour signifier l'âme, le *b*, et dans les exemples d'écriture cités par M. Fairman, il est toujours spécifié par . L'étymologie  « faucon », par acrophonie, est par contre évidente.

9°. N° 179 :  = *i*, pourrait être en effet, expliqué par , mais en supposant que cette graphie factice ait abusé les scribes anciens, ce qui reste à démontrer. Le même signe a par ailleurs une valeur plurilittère de *ib*,  ( *Wörterbuch*, I, 59), fondée vraisemblablement sur  « l'Intelligent », désignation de Thot par antonomase<sup>(3)</sup>. C'est donc de ce mot qu'il est plus naturel, et plus sûr, de faire dériver la valeur *i* par acrophonie.

10°. N° 181 :  = *b*. Quoique M. Fairman répugne tant à l'admettre, pour des raisons de doctrine personnelle, c'est une dérivation par acrophonie de  « phénix » qui s'impose.

<sup>(1)</sup> DRIOTON, *Les protocoles ornementaux d'Abydos...*, p. 19. *Recueil de cryptographie monumentale...*, p. 401.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Coffin Texts*, II, 25 a.  
<sup>(3)</sup> BOYLAN, *Thot, the Hermes of Egypt*, Oxford 1922, p. 180.



11°. N° 189 d :  $\text{f} = \text{c}$ . L'explication par  $\text{f}$  « bras » est irrecevable, car une plume n'est pas le bras de l'oiseau, qui serait plutôt l'aile entière. Il n'y a pas de mot connu commençant par  $\text{c}$  qui désigne la plume elle-même; mais, dans ce cas, une valeur fondée sur une désignation par métonymie<sup>(1)</sup> est conforme aux règles de signification de la cryptographie, à condition toutefois que cette métonymie exprime une qualité caractéristique de l'objet représenté. Dans ces conditions  $\text{f} = \text{c}$  dériverait sans difficulté d'une expression « ce qui vole », que ce soit  $\text{f}$  ou  $\text{f}$ .

La valeur r du même signe (n° 189 c) pose un problème du même genre. En avançant la solution  $\text{f}$  « la libyenne », parce que, dans l'imagerie égyptienne, cette plume, fichée dans la perruque, était l'insigne bien connu des Libyens, on ne sort pas des limites de la vraisemblance.

12°. N° 191 a :  $\bullet = s$ . Comme on l'a remarqué plus haut, p. 321, note 1, l'explication par  $\bullet$  « fils » est inadéquate. Celle par acrophonie de  $\text{f}$  s'impose.

Quant à  $\bullet = h$  (n° 191 b), l'explication par erreur de graphie que M. Fairman propose, pour ce cas comme pour beaucoup d'autres, n'est recevable que si tous les exemples de cette valeur proviennent de passages dont la gravure sur la pierre a été indiscutablement négligée.

13°. N° 193 e :  $\text{r} = s$ . Le terme  $\text{r}$ , avancé comme solution, est plus que rare, et par conséquent assez douteux. Le mot  $\text{r}$ , fréquent à toutes les époques, offre une vraisemblance bien meilleure.

14°. N° 195 d :  $\text{h} = \text{c}$ . On ne peut guère se dérober à l'étymologie  $\text{h}$ , qui est le nom spécifique, *oupaïos*, de l'uréus représentée.

15°. N° 196 :  $\text{h} = n$ . Cette valeur ne peut pas être expliquée par  $\text{h}$ , épithète d'Hathor, car il manque au signe la coiffure hathorienne qui le

<sup>(1)</sup> Le procédé est surtout fréquent pour les images divines, DRIOTON, *Les protocoles ornementaux d'Abydos...*, p. 18. *Recueil de cryptographie monumentale...*, p. 400-401. Mais on le trouve aussi

attesté pour la formation d'unilittères exprimés par d'autres signes; PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, Le Caire 1942, p. 106-109.

spécifierait en ce sens. Tel qu'il est, il ne pouvait symboliser pour un ancien Égyptien qu'une déesse, n'importe quelle déesse. L'explication par acrophonie de *ntr-t*, contestée par M. Fairman, est donc la seule acceptable.

16°. N° 199 :  $\text{t} = t$ . L'origine de cette valeur ne peut pas être la graphie  $\text{t}$  du mot *t* « terre », qui n'a pas de rapport de sens avec le signe.

Il faut la chercher dans une appellation du scarabée par métonymie. Je proposerais  $\text{t}$  « le Brûlant ». Le mot, qui s'applique en effet à la chaleur solaire (*Wörterbuch*, V, 229-230), peut convenir au scarabée qui symbolise si fréquemment l'astre du jour.

17°. N° 220 :  $\text{w} = w$ . Bien qu'il ne soit jamais employé avec ce déterminatif, le mot  $\text{w}$  « terrain fertile », proposé par M. Fairman, correspond parfaitement au signe en question : une terre portant de la végétation. C'est donc lui qui fonde vraisemblablement cette valeur.

18°. N° 221 :  $\text{r}$  ne s'explique pas par  $\text{r}$  « racine », puisqu'il n'en représente pas une. Il n'y a là qu'un cas d'acrophonie pratiquée sur un bilittère, pris comme tel, sans relation avec aucun sens. Cf. plus haut, 4° et 6°.


19°. N° 226 :  $\text{w} = w$ . Cet emploi ne peut pas être l'effet d'une confusion graphique, puisqu'on le trouve déjà au *Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, dans les cryptogrammes 8 et 9<sup>(1)</sup> :  $\text{w}$  =  $\text{w}$ . La valeur *w* est en réalité tirée par acrophonie de  $\text{w}$  « Celui qui brille », désignation du soleil par antonomase.





20°. N° 228 :  $\text{z} = i$ . L'acrophonie de  $\text{z}$  « lune » est patente.


21°. N° 248 f :  $\text{m} = m$ . L'acrophonie de  $\text{m}$  « bassin », que représente le signe, est plus acceptable qu'une explication par changement phonétique. D'ailleurs cette explication tombe d'elle-même, si l'on remarque que le signe est déjà employé avec cette valeur *m* sous la



<sup>(1)</sup> PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, p. 85.




XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie <sup>(1)</sup>, à une époque où il ne peut guère être question de ce changement phonétique.


22°. N° 267 a :  = b. Le mot « buisson » n'a rien à faire avec l'origine de cette valeur unilittère. Elle est simplement une acrophonie de signe bilittère, comme dans le cas des remarques 4°, 6° et 18°.

23°. N° 280 :  = p. L'étymologie  « mesure », explique mal pourquoi le vase (à supposer qu'il représente une mesure) est figuré en train d'être vidé. Ce serait un détail superflu, purement pittoresque, qui n'est guère dans le style de la cryptographie égyptienne. Chez elle, au contraire, tout détail tant soit peu insolite prend la valeur d'une indication précise, tendant à indiquer le ressort de la combinaison énigmatique. Or le vase penché qui laisse échapper l'eau existe — en dehors de  — dans l'écriture normale : c'est comme déterminatif du mot  « verser un liquide », qui, dans une version des *Textes des Pyramides* <sup>(2)</sup>, est un homme versant le contenu d'un vase, qu'il tient exactement dans cette position. L'étymologie par acrophonie de *pnk* « ce qui est versé » semble donc établie.

24°. N° 293 :  = s. Le nom de l'objet, la « bricole », étant *st*, l'étymologie par acrophonie de ce mot paraît s'imposer.

25°. N° 302 b :  = n. Puisqu'il a été prouvé que l'acrophonie a été le procédé normal de signification, rien n'oblige plus à rejeter le mot  comme origine de la valeur, ni à déclarer fautifs tous les passages qui sembleraient l'établir.

26°. N° 305 :  = p. L'erreur pour  , que suppose M. Fairman, est moins plausible qu'une valeur tirée de  (*Wörterbuch*, I, 90), mot qui désigne précisément ce genre de petits vases ronds.


27°. N° 319 :  = s. Le mot « dos », suggéré par M. Fairman, n'a rien à voir dans la question. Il s'agit, une fois de plus, de la simplification artificielle d'un signe bilittère courant. Cf. remarques 4°, 6°, 18° et 22°.


<sup>(1)</sup> DRIOTON, *Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie...*, p. 46, n° 128 et 129. — <sup>(2)</sup> *Pyramides*, 950 a.

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Terminons cette discussion en invitant à une expérience. La valeur d'une théorie s'éprouve par ses applications pratiques.




Une courte légende cryptographique, encore inexpliquée, se rencontre sur trois statuettes funéraires du Musée du Caire, d'époque saïte, publiées par Newberry <sup>(1)</sup>. L'existence de deux versions garantit jusqu'à un certain point l'exactitude de la lecture; une variante permet en outre d'isoler avec certitude le nom propre du titulaire.

N° 47512 

N° 47524 







En s'appuyant sur les données, exposées plus haut, du procédé acrophonique, on arrive aux résultats suivants :

 variation matérielle de  *db* . . . par acrophonie : *d* <sup>(3)</sup> 

<sup>(1)</sup> NEWBERRY, *Funerary statuettes and model sarcophagi*, p. 155, n° 47512 et 47513; p. 158, n° 47524. Je remercie Abbas Bayoumi Eff., conservateur au Musée Égyptien du Caire, qui m'a signalé l'existence de ces textes.

<sup>(2)</sup> En réalité le faucon a une tête de vache.

<sup>(3)</sup> La liste de M. Fairman (n° 288 d) comporte cette valeur, mais en l'expliquant par changement phonétique. C'est une raison qui n'est valable que

lorsque le signe sert à écrire un *d* devenu *t* dans la langue parlée. Dans le cas de *dd*, le copte *xw* prouve que la consonne initiale était restée *d* : il faut donc trouver une autre origine à la valeur  = *d* dans ce texte. L'équivalence  = , qui suit de près, rend vraisemblable l'explication par variation matérielle que je propose, si toutefois il ne s'agit pas tout bonnement d'une erreur de copie, de l'éditeur moderne, pour .



NOTE ON THE METHOD  
OF LOWERING THE LID OF THE SARCOPHAGUS  
IN A SAÏTE TOMB OF SAQQARA.

The method of lowering the lid of the sarcophagus in the Saïte tombs of Saqqara was first explained, 40 years ago, by Barsanti<sup>(1)</sup>. Ever since every new discovery of this type of tomb, including those recently excavated at Saqqâra by Zaki Eff. Saad, has confirmed that explanation.

Zaki Eff., in describing the method in his preliminary report<sup>(2)</sup> has made two disputable statements<sup>(3)</sup>, and included a diagram<sup>(4)</sup> which presents the lid in a dangerous position, making the operation of lowering it safely absolutely impossible.

I saw this diagram in preparation and pointed out to Zaki Eff. the faulty suppositions in it, but he persisted in his idea, and thus we were obliged to draw the diagram according to his wish and following his notes and sketches which he lent us for that purpose. As he intends to publish a fuller study of the tomb, I feel it my duty to record my remarks on his explanation.

The two statements alluded to are :—

(1) "The four niches were closed by beams<sup>(5)</sup> of wood 12 cm. thick and filled with sand."

<sup>(1)</sup> BARSANTI, *Annales*, t. I, p. 283.

<sup>(2)</sup> Zaki SAAD, *Annales*, t. XLI, p. 381.

<sup>(3)</sup> Zaki SAAD, *Annales*, t. XLI, p. 388.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fig. 79, *Annales*, t. XLI, p. 389.

<sup>(5)</sup> A beam is a long piece of squared timber, supported at both ends. «Strut» or perhaps «log» is the term Zaki Eff. should have used.

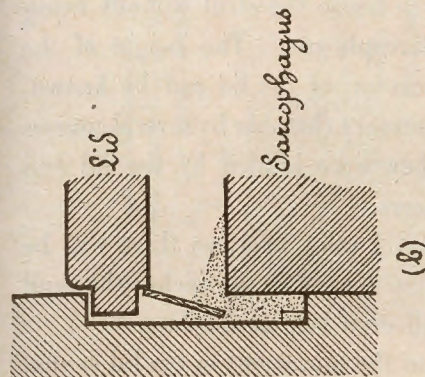
(2) "Once these openings were opened, the sand poured into the shafts below and gradually the heavy lid slipped down by its heavy weight, crushing under it the timber beams."

If we accept the first statement, and use the diagram in trying to visualize the operation as stated in the second, the result would be something like what I have shown in *a* (see figure 59). Further comment is hardly necessary.

The weight of the lid is 30 tons. This is carried by the pieces of wood and the sand in the four niches. Therefore the contents of each niche will carry one quarter of the load, i. e. 7.5 tons. The thickness of each strut, as stated by Zaki Eff., is 12 cm. and, as the width of the niche is 40 cm., this gives a cross section of 480 sq. cm. and a compressive stress in the strut of about 16 kg/sq. cm., in the worst case i. e. when the sand behind the strut carries nothing. The weakest kind of timber can carry safely 60 kg/sq. cm.<sup>(1)</sup> Further, the strut is supposed to be in a downward motion under the handle of the lid. This might tend to reduce the stress. Thus we can see that crushing is far from being probable, unless made intentionally which would be madness itself, as there would be nothing to prevent the sand behind the strut from filling the space between the lid and the sarcophagus, causing much trouble to those in charge of the operation.

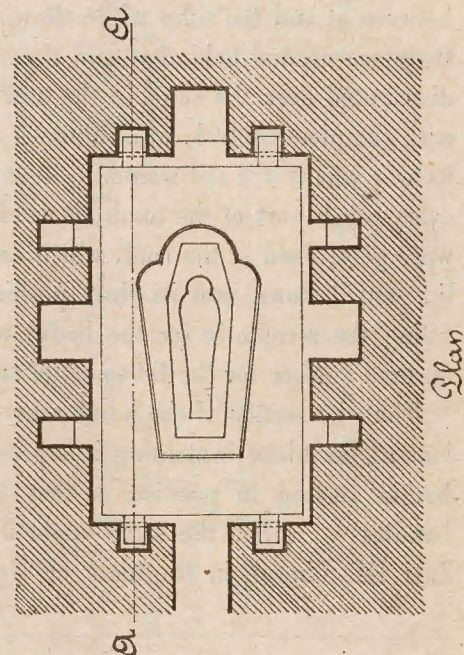
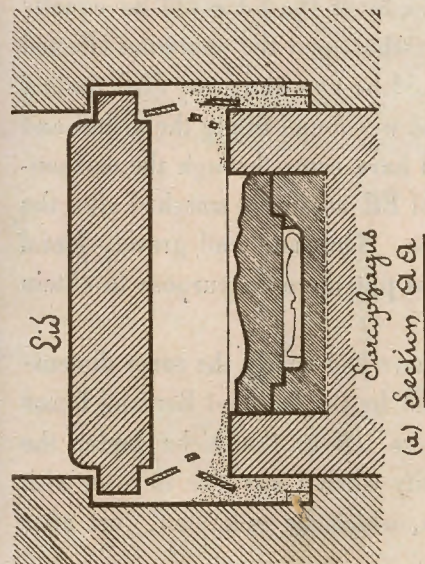
If Zaki Eff. means that the wood will slide down with the sand and the lid, keeping its vertical position as shown in the diagram, and then be crushed in the final stage of the operation, i. e. when the lid is just going to settle on the sarcophagus, this necessitates that the lid should be carried, for a few moments at this stage, by the four struts, which would be standing directly on the bottom of the niches, before they are crushed. This also necessitates that the struts should have a sufficient height to keep during the last moments, a little space between the lid and the sarcophagus. If the crushing occurs, the lid will settle with a jerk, which might be disastrous. As I have shown that the struts are strong enough

<sup>(1)</sup> The crushing stress is about 300 kg/sq. cm.



To B. The diagrams (a and b) represent sections through one of the four niches containing the handles of the lid.

Fig. 59. — Result, as understood from Zaki Eff. Saad's description.



to carry the lid the operation could not be completed and the sarcophagus will remain open. However, measurements show that the lower part of the niche is of sufficient height to house the strut without being crushed when the lid settles on the sarcophagus. The height of the strut can be determined if the initial position of the lid can be known. This is marked on the four walls of the funerary chamber by several courses of masonry, left undressed because they were hidden by the lid and could not be reached by the stone-dressers.

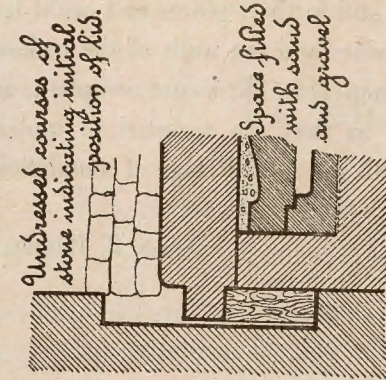
What would actually happen is what I show in *b*, as there will be nothing to prevent the strut from sliding inward in the niche; the sand behind it, in its unstable condition, will even help to displace it.

In both cases the necessary control on the movement of the lid cannot be obtained, with the result that it will go out of its horizontal position and the handles will become jammed against the walls of the niches.

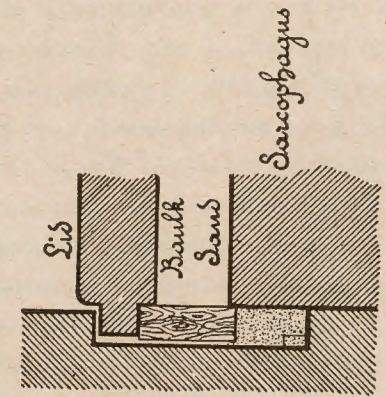
As explained by Barsanti, the niches were filled with sand up to just under the top of the sarcophagus (see figure 60). The size of the timber baulk was such as to make it fit in the niche with the minimum of space between it and the sides while allowing it to slide down. No sand was therefore needed behind it and the weight of the lid could be equally distributed over the sand in the four niches, and the operation effected with complete control, while there would be no risk of any sand finding its way where it is not wanted. If sand was found filling the niches and every other part of the tomb, it would have come through the earthenware pots, fixed in the roof, which Zaki Eff. says were smashed after the lid settled down into its final position. The sand and gravel, found filling the receptacle for the body, was put there on purpose to obtain an even surface for the lid to settle on.

That the section of the baulk must have had nearly the same dimensions as the niche containing it is proved by the fact that Barsanti found baulks resting in position as they were left in the niche under the handles<sup>(1)</sup>. I had the same opportunity when I was able to enter with Zaki Eff. himself in the tomb of Hor, which he excavated, just after

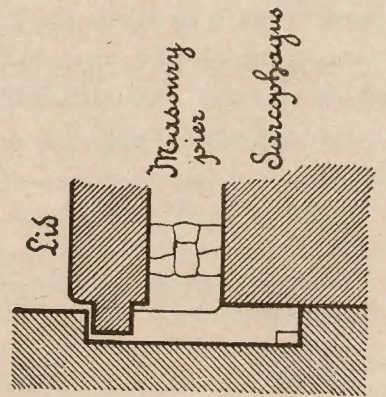
<sup>(1)</sup> BARSANTI, *Annales*, t. I, p. 284.



3. Operation completed, lid settled down on sarcophagus, sand escaped and baulk resting in lower part of niches.



2. Everything ready for operation to begin.



1. Condition before burial, lid carried by four masonry piers. (One only shown.)

Fig. 60. — Method, as explained by Barsanti.

the funerary chamber was cleared and before the lid was raised. The blocks, in this case in stone, were still in their places and could be seen through the space between the handles and the walls of the niches.

The clearance of the tomb of Amen-Tefnakht is not complete, and we hope to clear the remaining parts, as they are essential to understand the construction of this kind of tomb in its final stage of completion.

OSMAN R. ROSTEM.

## LE SIGNE †

### ET LE TITRE DU STOLISTE.

Sur le genou droit de la statue A 39 du Louvre<sup>(1)</sup> qui appartient à un grand dignitaire de la fin de la 3<sup>e</sup> ou du début de la 4<sup>e</sup> dynastie, nommé † ♂ ♂ 'Anh, on lit une partie de sa titulature : † ♂ ♂ qui a retenu notre attention à cause de la forme très particulière que prend ici le signe † dans le titre bien connu † ♂. En fait, il semble bien que nous soyons en présence de la forme archaïque de ce signe mystérieux qui, comme aucune autre hiéroglyphe, a fait couler des torrents d'encre dans la littérature égyptologique. M. Henri Gauthier a eu le mérite de dresser la liste des nombreux auteurs qui, depuis 1867, se sont occupés de l'élucidation de ce signe<sup>(2)</sup>, en recherchant sa lecture, sa signification et son interprétation matérielle. Mais à tout prendre, aucun de ces côtés du problème ne semble avoir été résolu de façon définitive.

Quant à sa lecture, Gardiner écrit encore dans son *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 527 : "O. K. † s...., title of a priest. Reading doubtful, since the proposal (*Unt. IV*, 63) to read sm; (zm;) on the basis of Cairo 20538, II, c 6 appears to be wrong; SETHE, *Lesestücke* 68 gives wb". Il semble cependant que les éléments à notre disposition sont suffisants pour établir définitivement la lecture de notre signe. Son premier radical est sûrement †, puisque sur l'architrave au-dessus de la porte d'un tombeau

<sup>(1)</sup> Charles BOREUX, *La Sculpture Égyptienne au Musée du Louvre*, pl. 1; cf. Ludwig KEIMER, *Annales du Service*, t. XXXI, p. 176. — Il existe du même personnage une autre statue au Musée de Leyde, — cf. Jean CAPART, *Recueil de Monuments égyptiens*, 1<sup>re</sup> série, pl. 3, —

ainsi qu'une empreinte de sceau, GARSTANG, *Mahásna and Bêt-Khalláf*, pl. 26,7, K 5.7, p. 26.

<sup>(2)</sup> Henri GAUTHIER, *Le personnel du Dieu Min*, p. 39-51, chap. V : Le titre — † sm?wtj (?) Mnw.






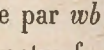
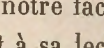




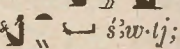
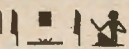
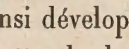

« J'ai revêtu le dieu de ses parures en ma fonction d'initié aux secrets, ma charge étant celle d'un prêtre *sm*; j'étais habile en ornant le dieu, un prêtre *sm* pur de doigts ». — Dans la version S, le titre  de la version I a été lu  par Sethe, et il a cru devoir le rendre par *wb*. Mais en réalité, la stèle porte clairement le groupe  (voir notre facsimilé fig. 61), de sorte qu'il ne reste plus aucun doute quant à sa lecture *sm*. Dès lors, il devient clair que nous devons aussi lire le titre



Fig. 61.

archaïque  *sm*; Hr.

Sous le Nouvel Empire, le même appellatif reçoit la terminaison  comme dans le titre  (1) « le *sm*-tj de *Kmw*-f ». Ce développement récent est très répandu et tend à transformer une racine simple du genre masculin en un appellatif *nisbé* avec la terminaison *tj*. De l'ancien substantif  *sw* « gardien », on construit un  *sw-tj*; au

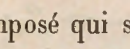

mot  *sipy* « comptable », on substitue un  *sipy-tj*, etc. La forme ainsi développée de notre ancien titre  *sm* se rencontre sous un aspect inattendu dans un texte littéraire du Nouvel Empire qui permet d'établir pour cette époque le phonétisme précis de notre titre. Le scribe du Papyrus Lansing (2) s'est plu, en effet, d'utiliser une combinaison de mots à valeur homophone de *sm*-tj :



« C'est toi le prêtre *sm* vénérable dans le (temple) de Ptah; tu es instruit de tous les mystères dans le Château du *Sr*. — C'est toi le prêtre

(1) Gustave LEFEBVRE, *Inscriptions des grands prêtres Romê-Roij et Amenhotep*, n° 22, p. 42.

(2) Pap. Lansing 13 a, 8-13 b, 3 = Alan H. GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 112-113.

*sm*-tj de Kaméphis, le grand prêtre de *Re* à Thèbes qui a transmis ses holocaustes ». — Le titre *sm*-tj est transcrit ici en hiératique par l'homophone , mot composé qui signifie « enterrement ». Cette graphie *sm*-tj montre d'ailleurs que la racine *sm*, après la métathèse phonétique *sm*, a déjà subi, à cette époque, la réduction en bilittère *sm*. Dès lors, il devient facile de reconstruire le phonétisme *sónte* pour le titre  du prêtre de Kaméphis.

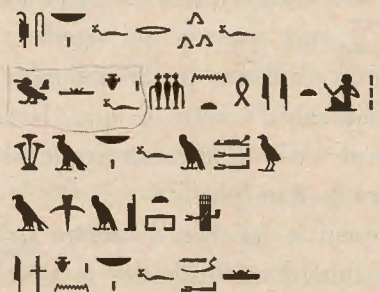
Pour définir à présent la fonction du prêtre *sm* depuis son origine, reportons-nous tout d'abord au texte des mystères d'Osiris qui nous livre à ce sujet l'idée directrice. D'après le passage que nous avons cité *in extenso*, le prêtre *sm*, comme l'initié aux secrets et le prêtre *sm*, s'occupait de l'habillement de la statue du dieu. Avec des mains purifiées, il ornait la statue de ses vêtements, de ses insignes et de ses bijoux. La même idée se dégage aussi de la titulature d'un autre grand de la même époque, conservée sur une stèle du British Museum (1) :





« Le gentilhomme effectif du roi, qu'il aime de préférence, le subalterne du roi, le préposé au diadème « Beau de front » quand il orne le roi, l'initié aux mystères du *pchent*, le prophète de la couronne « Grande de Magie », le nomarque d'Elkab qui habille le roi dans l'intimité, le *sm* dans les lieux reclus, le valet de chambre, *Smyt* le grand, le disculpé ». — Ce texte est à comparer avec un passage de la stèle


(1) *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, Brit. Mus., part II, pl. 7, n° 147 [839].







de *Šhtpibr* du Caire (LANGE-SCHÄFER, *Grab-und Denksteine*, II, p. 147) :



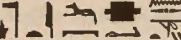
« Serviteur de son maître dans (tous) ses déplacements, son confident, premier des courtisans, autour de son maître dans l'intimité, le *sm* d'Horus dans la salle d'audience du Palais, vrai favori de son maître ». (Les éditeurs de la stèle ont lu par erreur  au lieu de ). Partout le prêtre *sm* est donc en rapport direct avec l'habillement et l'ornat du roi : force nous est de conclure qu'il s'agit d'un genre de stoliste.



En tenant compte cependant de la haute spécialisation des charges dans les cultes royaux et divins depuis l'époque la plus reculée, il nous reste à découvrir le caractère particulier de la fonction de ce stoliste. Dans ce but, considérons d'abord la série des divinités auxquelles il était attaché. De la liste pratiquement exhaustive qu'en a dressée M. Henri Gauthier<sup>(1)</sup>, il suffit pour nos besoins de citer les cinq exemples suivants :

1°  « *Sm* de Min »<sup>(2)</sup>.

2°    « *Sm* de Coptos »<sup>(3)</sup>;    « *Sm* d'*Ipw* »<sup>(4)</sup>.




<sup>(1)</sup> HENRI GAUTHIER, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, p. 39-47.



<sup>(2)</sup> PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. 16, 20 et 21. — Sur la stèle tardive de Hor (Musée du Caire, n° prov.  $\frac{20}{21} \frac{4}{16}$ ) se trouve une graphie du même titre qui n'a pas encore été relevée : . Sur ce monument, on




lit à plusieurs reprises sous le signe qui a remplacé plus tard le classique , le déterminatif (?) du bras  dont je ne m'explique pas encore la présence.



<sup>(3)</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, t. VIII, p. 160.



<sup>(4)</sup> *Proceedings of the S.B.A.*, t. IX, p. 364.

3°    « *Sm* de Kamêphis »<sup>(1)</sup>.

4°   « *Sm* d'Horus »<sup>(2)</sup>.

var.    « *Sm* d'Horus et de *P:h-l* »<sup>(3)</sup>.

5°   « *Sm* d'Anubis »<sup>(4)</sup>.

Les trois premiers types de notre titre de stoliste font bloc : on constate que ce prêtre était rattaché surtout au culte du dieu ithyphallique de Coptos en Haute-Égypte, ainsi qu'à la forme thébaine de Min, Kamêphis. Des deux derniers, nous pouvons négliger le titre *sm* d'Anubis, car il s'y trahit manifestement l'adoption pure et simple du titre *sm* dans le domaine funéraire, donc un usage secondaire. Il nous reste enfin à montrer qu'en réalité, le type   appartient au même ordre d'idées que le groupe se rattachant au culte du dieu ithyphallique.

Dans la lumineuse étude de Helmuth Jacobsohn, intitulée *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter* (Glückstadt 1939), sont exposés les rapports étroits qui, dans la dogmatique de la royauté égyptienne, existaient entre Horus et Min-Kamêphis, si bien qu'en dernière analyse, ils ne représentent que la même incarnation à deux points de vue différents : Horus correspond à la qualité de « fils » et Min-Kamêphis à la qualité de « père » du même roi. Voici d'ailleurs comment Jacobsohn formule sa thèse : « Die alten Ägypter glaubten an ein göttliches Wesen, das vom Schöpfergott fortlebte über die anderen Göttergenerationen und sämtliche Königsgenerationen hin bis zum jeweils regierenden König und in ihm wieder die Werke des Schöpfergottes vollbrachte<sup>(5)</sup>. » En tant que « fils », le pharaon représente Horus qui est la réincarnation du pouvoir de procréation émanant du principe vital, le Ka de ses ancêtres; et en tant que « père », il est Min, le dieu ithyphallique de Coptos, qui approche la reine en qualité de Kamêphis, « le taureau de



<sup>(1)</sup> GUSTAVE LEFEBVRE, *Inscriptions des grands prêtres Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep*, n° 22, p. 42.










<sup>(2)</sup> MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, pl. 2 a.

<sup>(3)</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. 25.

<sup>(4)</sup> MARIETTE, *Abydos*, I, pl. 2 a.

<sup>(5)</sup> Helmuth JACOBSON, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der Alten Ägypter*, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New-York 1939, p. 13.

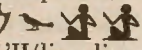
sa mère», car en lui donnant un fils qui sera un autre lui-même, il en fait en quelque sorte sa propre mère. Le roi et son fils constituent, en définitive, deux générations de la vie du même dieu créateur<sup>(1)</sup>. Or, le parallélisme des titres  et  offre un nouvel argument à l'appui de la thèse très ingénieuse de Jacobsohn, en ce sens que le prêtre *sm* correspondait au culte du roi «père» sous la forme de Min-Kamêphis, tandis que le prêtre *sm* *Hr* au culte du pharaon «fils» sous la forme d'Horus. Concurrément à ce culte royal à la Cour, il faut admettre que les mêmes titres de prêtrise s'appliquaient aux offices correspondants dans les temples de Min-Kamêphis, d'abord à Coptos, puis dans les cultes semblables, ailleurs en Égypte.

Dans les inscriptions de l'époque ptolémaïque, on parle une fois des  «deux prêtres stolistes» du nome de Coptos<sup>(2)</sup>. Cette institution rappelle celle des  (var. )<sup>(3)</sup> «deux directeurs en chef des artistes» à Memphis depuis l'Ancien Empire. Ce doublement des charges de haute prêtrise remonte-t-il à l'idée du double royaume de l'Égypte? Pour les *sm*-*twj*, cette supposition semble trouver sa confirmation dans les inscriptions archaïques : sur un fragment de vase trouvé à Saqqara, et ayant appartenu au culte de la statue royale de Miébis représentée avec la couronne de la Basse-Égypte, on lit devant la figuration de cette statue l'inscription :    «prêtre stoliste (du palais) du Sud de l'Horus 'And-ib»<sup>(4)</sup>; sur un autre fragment de vase découvert jadis à Abydos et ayant fait partie de la vaisselle rituelle de la statue du même roi portant la couronne de la Haute-Égypte, se trouve gravé devant la figuration de la statue :    «prêtre stoliste (du palais) du Nord de l'Horus 'And-ib»<sup>(5)</sup>.

De tout ce qui précède, il ressort maintenant avec netteté que le prêtre *sm* fut un stoliste rattaché, dès l'origine, au culte du dieu ithyphallique,



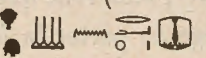
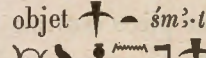
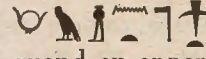


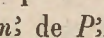

<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. laud.*, p. 15 et 65.



<sup>(2)</sup> Émile CHASSINAT, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, t. I, p. 338.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Urk.*, I, p. 38, 15 et p. 85, 2. Cf. aussi *Urk.*, I, 247 :  «les deux grands prêtres d'Héliopolis».

<sup>(4)</sup> Battiscombe GUNN, *Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site, Annales du Service*, t. XXVIII, p. 157 et pl. I, 3.

<sup>(5)</sup> AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1896-1897, pl. 21, 4.

et de sa réincarnation, le roi d'Égypte. Ce caractère particulier de sa prêtrise nous suggère qu'il dut s'occuper d'une partie déterminée de l'habillement des statues divines, voire du roi en personne. Il est d'abord très significatif de trouver (dans *Dahchour*, II, 69) le titre   *sm* associé à celui du  «directeur des habits rituels (*d*-*jj*-*t*) de la fête de *Re*», en d'autres termes, des cérémonies du couronnement et du jubilé trentenaire de la royauté égyptienne. Mais on peut encore serrer davantage la question. Dans la titulature du nomarque Khnoum-hotep, fils de Neherj à Beni Hassan, se trouve une allusion précise à un objet  *sm*-*t* d'un dieu qui est très probablement Horus<sup>(1)</sup> :  «Le prince et comte héréditaire, chef (*hrj*-*tp*) quand on apporte la *sm*-*t* du dieu dans le temple de *P*-*h*-*t*». Ailleurs<sup>(2)</sup>, le même nomarque porte d'ailleurs les titres d'un   «*sm* d'Horus» et d'un  «*sm* de *P*-*h*-*t*». Or, cet objet *sm*-*t* semble être, en définitive, l'étui phallique mentionné dans la biographie du capitaine de vaisseau 'Ahmès, fils de la dame 'Ibnz, qui figure dans sa tombe près d'El-Kab<sup>(3)</sup> :  «J'étais alors un jeune homme et n'avais pas encore pris femme, et je dormais avec l'étui phallique<sup>(4)</sup> attaché(?)».

Il est donc assuré que le prêtre *sm* fut, dès l'origine, un dignitaire qui dans l'intimité des dieux et des rois eut le privilège de la manipulation de l'étui phallique *sm*-*t* dont le signe  de la statue archaïque du Louvre nous donne une image précise, à la différence de la forme plus récente du même signe, qui nous est familier sous la forme stylisée . Il est vrai que nous ne possédons pas jusqu'ici une claire représentation de ce curieux appareil, très différent de l'étui phallique des Libyens, dans la grande masse de la statuaire et de l'imagerie égyptiennes; à l'époque historique, on semble l'avoir dissimulé avec pudeur. Seulement dans deux représentations de l'Ancien Empire où des vizirs célèbres du

<sup>(1)</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 33 (Tomb 3).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 24 et pl. 25, l. 17.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Urk.*, IV, 2.

<sup>(4)</sup> Dans le grand *Wörterbuch*, on a

méconnu la vraie signification de ce passage : on lit au vol. IV, 119, 10 : «belegt D. 18 in der Verbindung : als Kleidung der Unverheirateten (beim Schlafen).»

début de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, Kagemnj et Mererwka, qui furent en même temps des prêtres  $\overline{\text{†}} \text{ sm}^3 \text{ Mnw}$  et  $\overline{\text{†}} \text{ sm}^3 \text{ Hr}$ , sont figurés en relief, assis dans un palanquin avec les jambes repliés, la pointe d'un étui phallique apparaissant sous le bord du pagne<sup>(1)</sup>, montrant que ces vizirs avaient le privilège de porter la *sm<sup>3</sup>.t*.

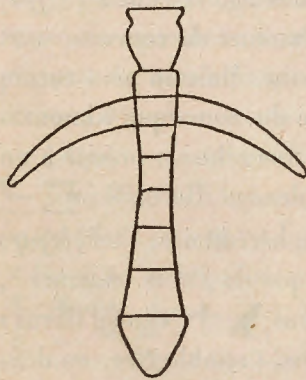


Fig. 6a.

Il ne reste qu'à décrire encore sommairement les éléments dont dut se composer cet étui phallique. Il est évident, tout d'abord, que le signe archaïque de la statue du Louvre (voir fig. 62) suggère comme pièce centrale une gaine en cuir, parfois plissée, comme on en a trouvé à Naga-ed-Dér (MACE, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dér*, part II, p. 48 et pl. 47 d) et à Qena (SCHARFF, *Die Altertümer der Vor-und Frühzeit Ägyptens*, vol. II, p. 180 et pl. 37). Cette gaine cylindrique, possédant une ouverture latérale à

mi-hauteur, était suspendue à une pièce en os (?) à rainure circulaire où s'engageait la ceinture à laquelle l'appareil se trouvait fixé. En guise de contrepoids, une pièce conique était cousue en bas de la gaine; une paire de cornes semble avoir constitué, enfin, l'ornement latéral.

Bernhard GRDSELOFF.

<sup>(1)</sup> VON BISSING, *Gemnikai*, I, pl. 22; II, pl. 158; cf. GUNN, *loc. laud.*, I, p. 131-136. — Prentice DWELL, *Mereruka*,

## COMPTES RENDUS DES FOUILLES ET EXPLORATIONS

## TOMB OF NEBAMUN, CAPTAIN OF TROOPS

(No. 145 AT THEBES)<sup>(1)</sup>.

This tomb was never published *in extenso*, and as far as I know no photograph of any scene in it has ever been published<sup>(2)</sup>.

The four photographs published with this paper were taken in 1936 just before my transfer from Luxor at that year and it is sad to mention that the two best preserved parts of the scenes on its walls were cut away during the period of the recent destruction of the Theban Necropolis between 1937 and 1942<sup>(3)</sup>. The two scenes are : (1) Nebamun and his wife seated on the sofa with the monkey eating onions underneath it (see below, p. 372 and Pl. XII), and (2) the bust of one of the daughters of Nebamun (see below, p. 374 and Pl. XIV). I hope that this paper

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<sup>(1)</sup> The position of this tomb on the map of the Necropolis is D 6, g 1, and is among the group known as Dira<sup>c</sup> Abul-Naga South (DNS).

<sup>(2)</sup> The Catalogue (GARDINER-WEIGALL, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 28) dates it to the reign of Tuthmosis III with a query. It is not mentioned in the Bibliography (PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography I, Theban Necropolis*) or in Wegner's work (MAX WEGNER, *Stilentwicklung der Thebanischen Beamtengräber*, in *Mitt. des deutsch. Inst. Kairo*, IV). The Wreszinski Atlas does not reproduce any of its scenes.

The only scene published up till now

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is the representation of the troops of animals which is published twice, once by DAVIES (*Bull. M.M.A.—The Egyptian Expedition*, 1930-1931, No. Mars 1932, p. 53 and 58, fig. 9, and again by BAUD in J. CAPART, *Documents*, II (1931), p. 63-65 and Pl. 69. I am indebted for these two references to the kindness of Dr. L. Keimer.

<sup>(3)</sup> It is very distressing to record that my general inspection of the Theban Necropolis in 1943 has shown that no less than forty tombs were disfigured. A detailed report on this disaster is in preparation and I hope that it will be published in the next number of the *Annales*.

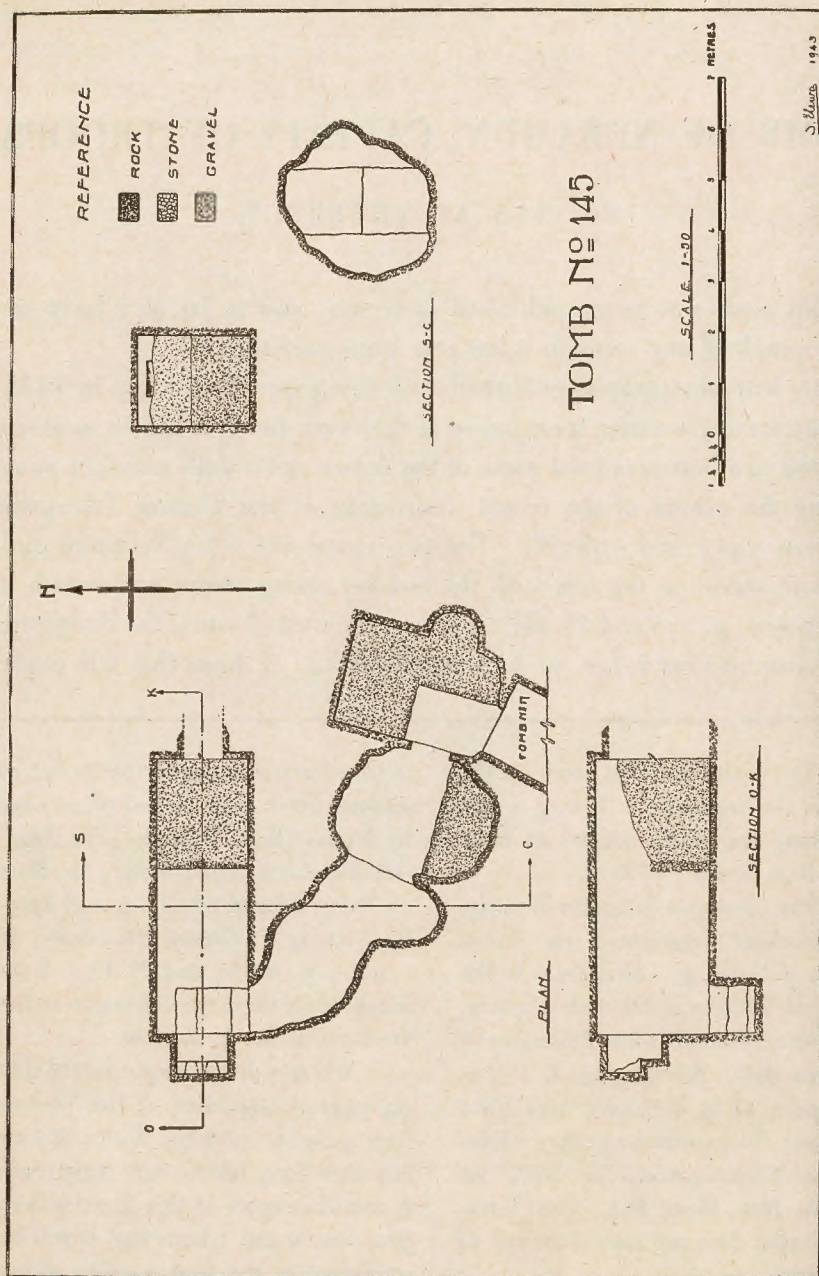


Fig. 63.

will add new material for the study of Egyptology and at the same time give a record of the scenes of this tomb before their recent destruction.

The entrance to the tomb (see Fig. 63) is blocked up and is accessible only from tomb No. 17 which has an iron door and thus there is not the slightest doubt that this tomb, like many of the others, was mutilated by the guards of the Antiquities Department themselves or at least with their compliance.

The tomb can only be assigned to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This is proved by its style, the subjects depicted on the walls and by the fact that Nebamun's son Paser (see below, p. 376) lived in the reign of Amenophis II <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Description* : The chapel opens east, but is now half full of débris and its scenes were never finished. Facing the entrance there is a niche higher than the level of the floor (Dim. 1,06 m. high, 1,00 wide and 0,90 m. deep) and containing two seated statues made of mud and coated with a layer of plaster, both are now damaged but that of the wife is still recognizable (Pl. XV). The inner part of the chapel is decorated, the part near the entrance has not yet been reached, since it is now completely covered with the débris which fills half the room and it is not impossible that there are other unfinished scenes hidden by the débris.

The scenes are on the two side walls, the northern and southern ones.

SOUTHERN WALL.

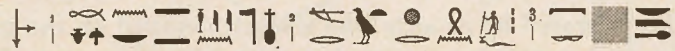
The scenes are in two registers, the upper one represents Nebamun and his wife sitting on a sofa, with an offering table in front of them. The lower register represents them again, their son offers a bouquet of flowers and behind him is a table laden with victuals.

<sup>(1)</sup> The Tomb of Paser was accessible in the last century and was visited by Wilkinson, Lepsius, Piehl and Brugsch (see PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography I*, p. 193)

but was buried. I rediscovered it in May 1934 and is now protected by an iron-door and has the number 367 in the list of the Private Tombs.

Upper register :

Nebamun and his wife sit on a sofa, under which their pet monkey eats an onion (this scene is now cut away). The table is laden with bread, meat, grapes, cucumber and onions. The colours are marvellously preserved and the drawing is in the best style of the XVIIIth dynasty. In front of him :



«The perfect favorite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the praised one of the Good God, the beloved one among his courtiers, the Captain of Troops Neb[amun] true of voice».

The name of the God Amun was effaced by the agents of Akhenaten, but sufficient traces are left to show the original. Over his wife : « Mistress of the house I'ah-hotep ».

To the left of the table there is a list of offerings in two registers, the number of them is twenty-two.

- |         |                        |           |             |                  |        |        |
|---------|------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|--------|--------|
| 1<br>   | 2<br>                  | 3<br>     | 4<br>       | 5<br>            |        |        |
| washing | ht <sup>3</sup> —bread | psn—bread | dpt-i—cakes | ivr—food of meat |        |        |
| 6<br>   | 7<br>                  | 8<br>     | 9<br>       | 10<br>           | 11<br> | 12<br> |
| roast   | wine                   | beer      | špn.t—drink | water            |        | honey  |

(1) A remark of recitation in the middle of the list, see *Wörterbuch*, II, p. 471.

- |               |           |                |           |                       |
|---------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| 13<br>        | 14<br>    | 15<br>         | 16<br>    | 17<br>                |
| red drink     | bd—natron | of Lower Egypt | roast     | large portion of meat |
| 18<br>        | 19<br>    | 20<br>         | 21<br>    | 22<br>                |
| hwn           |           | cakes          | red drink | cool water            |
| piece of meat | cakes     | in two halves  |           |                       |

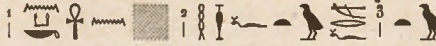
To the left of the list there is a text of three lines, two of which are now preserved : «Presenting an offering . . . . . bread, thousand of beer vases, thousand of oxen, . . . . . every good and pure thing, presents of all vegetables to the Ka [of] . . . . ».

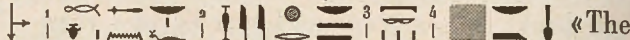

The son of Nebamun was standing and making this offering to his father, his figure is now damaged, the only part preserved being his foot. The text was continued behind him : «His son, his beloved one . . . . . the king's excursions Paser, true of voice». The word occurs in our text and in other tombs of this period and is a military post or title given to officers in the infantry or chariot fighter (*Wörterbuch*, III, 459). The father of Menkheperrasonb (tomb No. 112—DAVIES, *The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmosi, and Another*, Pl. XXIV) was titled .

Bottom register :

Nebamun and his wife are seated on a sofa, their son holds a bouquet of blue lotus flowers to the nose of his father.

(1) The form of *dšr* in the original is somewhat different and is rather like

Over the son :  «For thy Ka, a bouquet of flowers from . . . he praises thee and loves thee». The offering-table behind him is laden with bread, meat, fruit (grapes, sycamore and figs) lettuce and onions. Over the victuals is a bouquet of flowers, and under the table there are four jars of wine.

Over Nebamun :  «The great favorite of his lord, praised of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Captain of Troops, Neb[amun], true of voice». Over his wife :  «His wife, the mistress of the house, who is the place (*i. e.* the concern) of his heart, I'ah-hotep, true of voice».

The rest of the wall is not decorated, the dividing lines of the decoration as well as some squares are drawn in red and black, but are left without finishing.

NORTHERN WALL.

The scenes on this wall (Pls. XIII and XIV) are partly finished in the middle part, and only sketched out at some places to the right and left sides. We can distinguish three registers.

Upper register :

The scenes of this register depict a banquet, Nebamun and his wife sit on a sofa, two of their daughters sit near them, the older one sits on a low stool and the second sits on the mat and both of them hold a lotus flower and smell it. A table laden with offerings is before them; and at its side stands a female (a third daughter) offering a bowl of drink to Nebamun and holding a small jug in her other hand. Behind her, the artist intended to complete the banquet scene in three registers, the guiding lines in red colour were drawn, a part of the bottom register was sketched and we see four ladies seated on a mat while a female attendant offers a drink. At the other side, *i. e.*, behind Nebamun and his wife is represented the store-house of the wines, a servant is seen brewing<sup>(1)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> One man is engaged in the work, the four arms seen in the photograph have resulted from a correction of the movement. Scenes of brewery from this period in the Theban Necropolis are not rare. The scenes of the Tomb

while another one tastes the drink; vases are seen put in a big bowl or on a stand. A third servant comes out holding a vase on each hand to offer to the master.

In the two other registers, Nebamun is seen at the left inspecting his animals.

Middle register :

A herd of oxen and cows are driven by a servant, two calves are represented jumping. Before the cows a Syrian servant holds a pair of horses; three servants (one of them is prostrate on the ground) report to the tomb-owner, while a scribe writes on a papyrus.

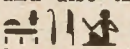
Bottom register :

In this register, we see the scribe and one of the supervisors of the estate is beaten on his back in the presence of two others. Behind them are three herds, the first is a herd of asses, the second is of geese and the third is of swine. The artist took care to draw with every herd small animals; we have already referred to the calves in the middle register, and we find here two small asses, two small geese and a young pig.

NOTES.

(1) *Dating.*—In the tombs of the first half of the XVIIIth dynasty we find the representation of herds of animals; a tradition which was still surviving from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The jumping calves and small donkeys as well as the flocks of geese are not common on the walls of the tombs in Thebes because these scenes gave place to other subjects. If we want to find analogies to these scenes, we must look for them in the Tombs of El-Kab and in early tombs in Thebes like that of

of Suemnut (No. 92, Reign of Amenophis II—WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, 295-296) are rich of detail, see also the scene in the Tomb of Qenamun (No. 93, DAVIES, Pl. LVIII, LIX and *Atlas*, 301)

and also the scene in the Tomb of  Tati (No. 154 who was a butler in the same period, see GARDINER-WEIGALL, *Catalogue*, p. 30).



Ineni<sup>(1)</sup> and Amenemhat<sup>(2)</sup>. From the reign of Amenophis II, the subjects on the walls of the tombs took a definite form and if we accept that Nebamun is the father of Paser the owner of tomb No. 376, we should date our tomb in the first half of the reign of Tuthmosis III if not earlier. Paser boasts in his tomb that he followed Amenophis II in all his excursions to the South and North when he was crown-prince, he was also a captain of troops like his father and a child of the nursery. Nebamun must have been one of the officers who served under Tuthmosis III in his wars. He was perhaps advanced in age and did not distinguish himself in the wars, or had perhaps died and left behind him a young son who was taken by the great ruler and brought up with his sons.

(2) *Herds of Pigs*.—We are told by Herodotus<sup>(3)</sup> that the Egyptians used swine in the work of fields to press the grain into the ground after sowing the seed. We find pigs engaged in such work in the tomb No. 24 (Tomb of Nebamun—reign of Tuthmosis III)<sup>(4)</sup>. Pigs as a part of the cattle of the estates of rich officials are found in the Tomb of Ineni (No. 81 at Thebes)<sup>(5)</sup>, in the Tomb of Nebamun (No. 24) in No. 123 and in the Tomb of Paḥeri at El-Kab<sup>(6)</sup>. All these tombs are from the reign of Tuthmosis III and earlier. It would seem that the depicting of herds of swine on the tomb walls was practised at the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty but soon fell into disuse probably for some religious reasons. In the Middle Kingdom they were bred like the other animals;

<sup>(1)</sup> See BOUSSAC's publication, Pl. I. The scenes of cattle are numerous and occur at least in twenty other tombs. The names of nineteen of them are given by Max WEGNER, in his work, *Stilentwicklung der Thebanischen Beamtengräber*, p. 70-71.

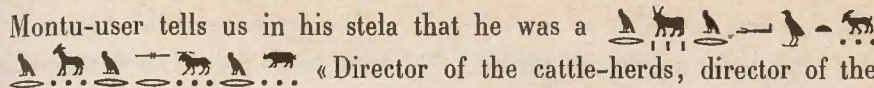
<sup>(2)</sup> No. 123. This is the only tomb in Thebes in which there is a scene in which the artist has treated the troops of animals in the same way as in our tomb. The scene of the animals was also published by Davies (*B.M.M.A.*, Mars 1932, p. 56, fig. 8).

<sup>(3)</sup> HERODOTUS II, XIV.

<sup>(4)</sup> MAHMUD RUSHDY, *The Treading of Sown Seed by Swine in Annales du Service*, XI, p. 162.

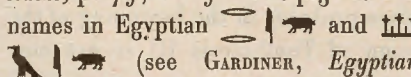
<sup>(5)</sup> BOUSSAC, *Le Tombeau d'Anna in Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr.*, XVIII (the plates are unnumbered), but see WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs* (1<sup>st</sup> series), vol. III, p. 34 woodcut No. 332 = ed. BIRCH, II, 100 (No. 360).

<sup>(6)</sup> PORTER and MOSS, *Bibliography*, V, p. 177-181. Renni at El-Kab owned 1500 of these animals.

Montu-user tells us in his stela that he was a  «Director of the cattle-herds, director of the goat-herds, director of the donkey-herds, director of the sheep-herds, director of the swine-herds»<sup>(1)</sup>. It is not impossible to suppose that these animals were also bred in the O. K., though up till now they have not been found on the monuments<sup>(2)</sup>.

In spite of the religious ideas of the Egyptians concerning this animal, they used it in agriculture and perhaps for other purposes, and kept herds of it which formed a part of the animals of the estates of rich people<sup>(3)</sup>.

(3) *Horses*.—The presence of the pair of horses and the absence of the chariot should not make us think that Nebamun used his horses as riding animals. It is true that there are some instances in which horses are being ridden but these are very few and from a later period<sup>(4)</sup>. The horse and chariot were introduced from Syria, and on the walls of many of the Theban tombs we find this animal brought as tribute from there. Most of these scenes show the horse harnessed to the chariot (in few cases it walks beside it), and in some of them we find horses and chariots represented in hunting scenes—or waiting for their master

<sup>(1)</sup> See C. RANSOM, *The stela of Mentu-user* (New York 1913) and SETHE, *Lese-stücke*, p. 79, l. 8-9. The pig had two names in Egyptian  (see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 451).

<sup>(2)</sup> The well-known representation in the Tomb of Kagemni (FIRTH-GUNN, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, Pl. 52) is not a pig. If we study carefully his feet we find at once that it is in all probability a small dog.

<sup>(3)</sup> For the religious beliefs concerning this animal, see the references given by Professor KEES in his book, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 20-21 footnote 1.

<sup>(4)</sup> These representations are rare, the

earliest one known to me is from the reign of Harmḥeb (*J.E.A.*, 7, Pl. 6; KEES, *Ägypt. Kunst*, fig. 36 and *ibid.*, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 127). See also WRZINSKI, *Atlas*, II, Pl. 172 where we see a soldier riding a horse in one of the scenes of the battle of Kadesh; see also WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs* (1<sup>st</sup> series), vol. I, p. 289 and p. 406. G. G. SIMPSON in his study on *Horses and History in Natural History* (New York), 38, 277 ff. gives a photograph of an 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty statuette of a man riding a horse, and an ivory figurine of a galloping horse, both in *M.M.A.*, cf. *J.E.A.*, 23 (1937), p. 232.

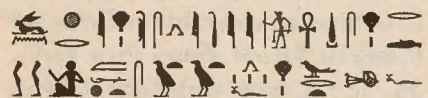
who inspects his fields or workshops<sup>(1)</sup>. The presence of the horses in this tomb is for a different purpose, Nebamun had a pair of these animals which are brought to him at the same time as he inspects the other herds. The horse was an animal newly introduced from Asia, the Egyptians were not yet well acquainted with its breeding and so Nebamun entrusted his two precious animals to a foreigner who knew how to care for them<sup>(2)</sup>. They were supposed to be the most important of all the animals and this is easily understood when we see them depicted at the head of all the cattle and other animals of the estate.

The horse and chariot were introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos and were used by the Egyptians in war as early as the War of Independence, Ahmes I was in his war chariot when he proceeded to besiege Avaris as one of his generals tells us<sup>(3)</sup>; but it was after the wars of Touthmosis III in Syria that thousands of these animals were brought into Egypt. The officials and land-owners could obtain them and thus the horses became common in the country either in the army or as means of transport<sup>(4)</sup> and the Egyptian workmen excelled in the manufacture of chariots<sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> See the list given by Wegner on p. 80. These are the important ones.

<sup>(2)</sup> For the boasting of King Amenophis II that "he knew their nature, and was clever in training them", when he was young and the great joy of his father, see SELIM BEY HASSAN in *Annales du Service*, XXXVII, p. 133.

<sup>(3)</sup> In lines 8-9 of the biography of Ahmes son of Ibana at El-Kab :



"I followed the King (L. P. H.) on my feet when he rode abroad on his chariot".

<sup>(4)</sup> The earliest representation of a chariot and horses in the Theban Ne-

cropolis is in the Tomb of User (No. 21, reign of Tuthmosis I). The statement of Wegner (*op. cit.*, p. 81) that the introduction of horse into Egypt took place probably in the beginning of the reign of Touthmosis III is not correct.

<sup>(5)</sup> See WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, Pl. 152; DAVIES, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, I, Pl. 23 and p. 67; see also *Atlas*, Pls. 41, 17, 69 (Tomb of Menkheperaseneb; *Atlas*, Pl. 307 (Tomb of Meri), *Atlas*, Pl. 227 (Tomb of Hapu). There are still many good representations of the manufacture of chariots in the Tomb of Rekmirê and other tombs, cf. WEGNER, *ibid.*, p. 66-7.

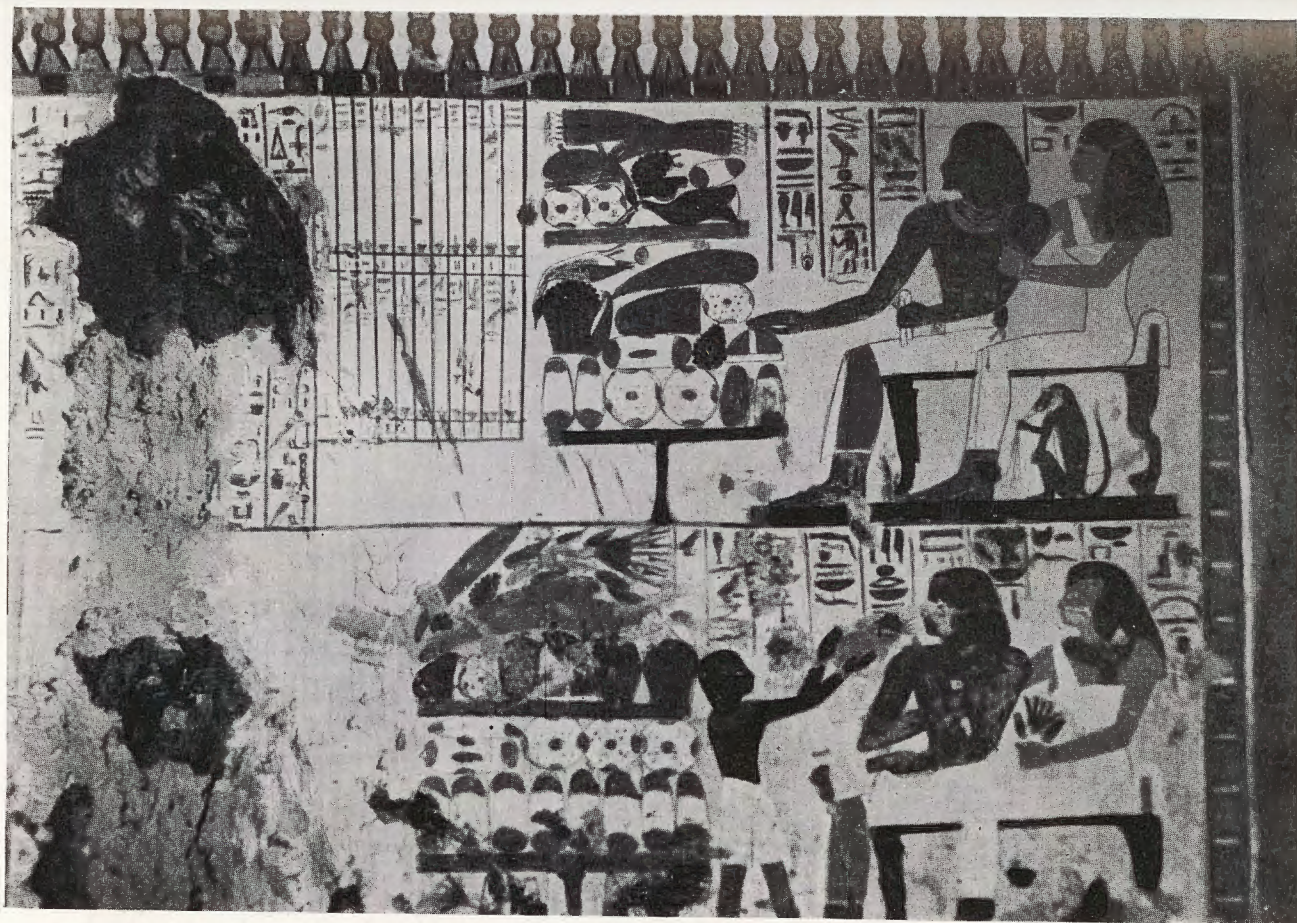
BURIAL-CHAMBER.

The burial-chamber of this tomb must be at its western end under the niche of the statues, and like the rest of the chapel, it needs to be cleaned to free it from the débris that fills it.

This small tomb, though unfinished, is very interesting and its scenes are important for the study of the development of the style in the Theban Necropolis. It is to be regretted that it has been disfigured, but I hope that the photographs published here will, to a limited extent, atone for this loss.

AHMED FAKHRY.

Luxor, 10th of July, 1943.



South Wall : The scene at the upper right hand corner which represents Nebamun, his wife and the pet monkey under their sofa was recently cut away.



North Wall : The left part of the scenes of the estate of Nebamun.



North Wall : The right part of the scene of the herds of the estate.  
The bust of the daughter standing in the upper register was cut away recently.



A general view of the rear wall of the chapel. Remains of two statues of mud of the tomb-owner and his wife are still preserved inside the niche.

## TOMB OF PASER

(No. 367 AT THEBES).

### § 1.—Foreword.

The tomb of Paser was known to the Egyptologists who worked in the Theban Necropolis in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century; Wilkinson<sup>(1)</sup>, Lepsius<sup>(2)</sup>, Piehl<sup>(3)</sup>, Brugsch and others<sup>(4)</sup> entered this tomb and copied some of its texts and described some of its scenes. I have refound this tomb in May, 1934 and cleaned its chapel and shafts in the next year; the photographs published with this paper were taken for me the same summer by the late Mr. Leichter.

I have not published anything concerning this tomb up till now because I was intending to make it the nucleus of a study of all the tombs dating from the reign of Amenophis II in Thebes, but with my transfer from Luxor in 1936, this ambitious plan was put off because other duties have completely absorbed my time. I have thought lately of publishing the photographs and the texts without any drawings or detailed studies, there is no one who feels more than myself that such a publication is not sufficient, but I am sure that it will add a great deal to our knowledge.

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<sup>(1)</sup> WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, (1<sup>st</sup> series), vol. II, p. 280 woodcut 210.











p. 94-95 and Pl. CXVI-CXVII and Z.A.S., XXI, p. 135, § 126.

<sup>(2)</sup> L., *D.*, Text, III, p. 274.

<sup>(4)</sup> See PORTER-MOSS, *Bibliography I, Theban Necropolis*, p. 193.

<sup>(3)</sup> PIEHL, *Inscr. Hiérog.*, 1<sup>re</sup> série,

















§ 2.—Robbing of the Tomb.


Paser, the owner of this tomb lived in the reign of Amenophis II and was buried in it; the original burial seems to have been robbed in an early period and the tomb was neglected, the black granite sarcophagus which once contained the mummy was usurped by another whose name was Paḥemneter, the  was left as it is but the  was erased and the rest of the name (       ) was put in its place. The usurper did not change the titles, and he carried it from Thebes to be put in his tomb at Sedment where it was found. The finders date the Tomb of Paḥemneter in the XIXth dynasty, the sarcophagus is now in the Philadelphia Museum <sup>(1)</sup>.

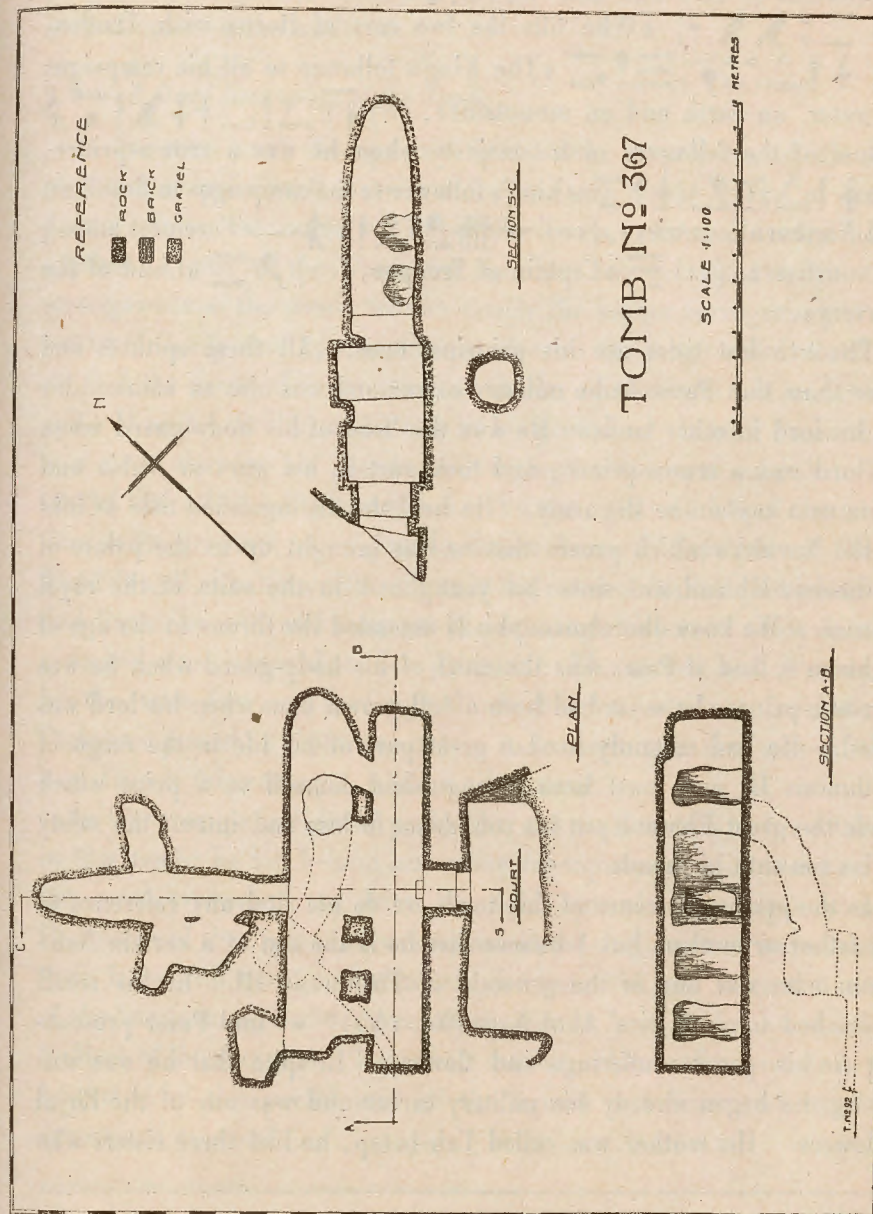
In the XXIIInd dynasty the tomb was reused, two shafts (other than the original one) were cut in the floor and a Ḥaroudja who was a musician of Amun and his father Iuf'awa were buried in them. Later in the XXVth dynasty, these two burials were disturbed, and a man and his wife were buried in them. These burials were robbed also in Roman period and the débris of these shafts contained remains of all these burials which will be discussed below (see p. 409); among them, a bandage on which are written the names of Taharka was found.

The modern robbers of the necropolis did not spare these shafts, they robbed them in modern times and they left behind them some of their tools which were found together with the few remains which seemed to them not worth taking, this had luckily happened a long time ago when there were many tombs to be robbed and the dealers paid only for *precious* antiquities. In our days the thief of Gurna sieves the débris and never leaves a bead behind him.

§ 3.—Paser.

The owner of the tomb was called   (var.  ) who lived in the reign of Amenophis II. He was : (1)     « Perfect favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands », (2)     « The Courtier, great of love », (3)     « Who is in the heart of Ḥorus, lord

<sup>(1)</sup> PETRIE-BRUNTON, *Sedment*, II, p. 27 and Pl. LV-LVI. At one place the  was left.





of the Palace (*i. e.* the King)», (4) «Great favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands», (5) «Beloved of the Good God», (6) «Who fills the two ears of Horus with Truth», (7) «The King's follower to all his campaigns on water, on earth and on mountains», (8) «Chief of the followers of his majesty when he was a crown-prince», (9) «King's follower to the campaigns to Southern and Northern countries», (10) «Foremost among his courtiers», (11) «Captain of Troops», (12) «Child of the Nursery».

The two last titles are his principal ones. All these epithets and titles show that Paser had a military career and was also an ambassador for his lord in other lands. He was the head of his body-guard when his lord was a crown-prince, and took part in his wars in Nubia and Syria as a captain in the army. He held the distinguished title «Child of the Nursery» which proves that he was brought up in the palace of Tuthmosis III and was since his youth in the suite of the royal princes. We know that Amenophis II ascended the throne at the age of eighteen<sup>(1)</sup>, and if Paser was the chief of his body-guard when he was a crown-prince, he must have been a full grown man when his lord was a lad. He had certainly lived a great part of his life in the reign of Tuthmosis III and must have distinguished himself to a point which made the great Pharaoh put his confidence in him and intrust the safety of his son into his hands.

In the preserved scenes of this tomb we do not find any reference to his father or mother, but I believe that he is the son of a certain Nebamun who was one of the generals of Tuthmosis III. In his small unfinished tomb at Dira<sup>c</sup> Abul Naga (No. 145)<sup>(2)</sup> we find Paser presenting to his parents offerings and flowers. In spite that he was still young, he began already his military career and was one of the Royal followers. His mother was called I'ah-hotep, he had three sisters who

<sup>(1)</sup> SELIM BEY HASSAN, *The Great Limestone Stela of Amenhotep II*, in *Annales du Service*, XXXVII, p. 132.

<sup>(2)</sup> See my article, *Tomb of Nebamun* in this number of *Annales*, p. 369.

are represented in his father's tomb. Paser was married to the lady Baky who was buried with him in his tomb and who is represented several times on the walls.

§ 4.—*A Brief Description of the Tomb.*

It lies near tomb No. 92 just to its west, its position on the map of the Necropolis is D 4, C 10, and is one of the group of tombs known under the name of Upper Enclosure. Its walls were never finished, a part of the transverse chamber was decorated only. The arrangement of the scenes follows closely the known arrangement of the tombs of this period<sup>(1)</sup>; over the entrance to the longitudinal chamber, we find the deceased in presence of Osiris, to the right we see Amenophis II on his throne, and Paser in his presence. Behind Paser there is a scene showing his attendants bringing victuals and animals. The rest of the wall is left undecorated. To the right and left of the tomb-door is the deceased offering to the deities Amenre<sup>c</sup>, Harakhti and Osiris. The left wall, *i. e.* the northern one is the scene of the banquet where we find Paser, his wife and their guests partaking a rich meal while dancing girls and musicians add to their pleasure. The eastern wall is occupied by the false-door. The longitudinal chamber was not finished; in Ptolemaic period, a room was cut in its eastern wall and served for a burial; over this entrance, a text was written.

In Christian period, in all probability the xii<sup>th</sup> century, a hermit lived in this tomb; he left behind him many inscriptions in red, and painted the cross everywhere to drive the devil out of these pagan scenes. He mutilated the figures of women wherever they occurred and smeared their faces with mud, unfortunately the beautiful and important scene of the banquet received his greatest attention.


Most of the scenes still keep their ancient colours, the work is in the best style of this period and all the figures and texts were carefully drawn and coloured.

<sup>(1)</sup> WEGNER, *Stilentwicklung der Thebanischen Beamtengräber*, in *Mitteil. des deutsch. Inst.*, Bd. IV (1933), p. 53-55,









see also DAVIES, *The Tomb of Nakht*, p. 30 ff. and fig. 4.

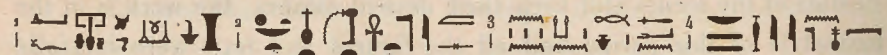
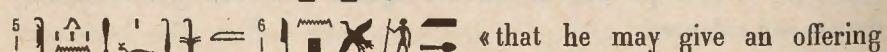
§ 5.—*Previous References to this Tomb.*

I have already referred in § 1 to the Egyptologists of the last century who visited this tomb and copied some of its scenes or texts, I give briefly the points which interested them. Wilkinson copied his triangular harp<sup>(1)</sup> from the scene of the banquet, it is in fact the only known example of the XVIIIth dynasty (see below § 16, p. 405). Lepsius (*Denkm., Text*, III, p. 274), mentions the tomb under No. 66 and gives in few lines the name of its owner and some of his titles. He refers also to the Coptic graffiti on some walls but does not give any of them.

It was PIEHL (*Inscr. Hiérog.*, I, p. 94-95 and Pl. CXVI-CXVII) who gave somewhat detailed description of the scenes and published the important texts and translated them. Piehl's copy is not free from mistakes. He referred to this tomb once more in his article in *Z.Ä.S.*, 21 (1883), p. 135, in a note concerning the expression  (see below, p. 396). The inscriptions published by Piehl were used by many writers, specially the text referring to the campaign of the King<sup>(2)</sup>.

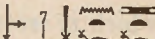
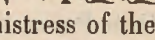
§ 6.—*Paser and his Wife offer to Osiris.*

Over the entrance to the longitudinal chamber there is a scene representing Paser and his wife offering to Osiris (Pl. XVI) in a double scene. The right side is finished. Osiris is wrapped in his white cloak, wears the crown of Upper Egypt and holds the , ,  and  emblems in his hands. The offering-tables are laden with victuals. Paser holds in his hands two small offering stands laden with geese. At the right side there are nine lines of inscriptions; the first is for Osiris :    , the other eight lines are the continuation of the text and are written from left to right :


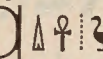

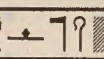
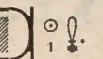































  
 «that he may give an offering

<sup>(1)</sup> WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs* (1<sup>st</sup> series), vol. II, p. 280 woodcut No. 210.

<sup>(2)</sup> BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, II, p. 305, footnote 1.

(consisting of) bread, beer, oxen, birds, clothes, alabaster (vases), incense, unguent and every good and pure thing on which the god lives for the *Ka* of the great favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the beloved one of the Good God, the chief of the followers of his Majesty when he was a crown-prince, Paser, true of voice». Over his wife :   «his sister, his beloved one, the mistress of the house Baky, true of voice».

§ 7.—*Amenophis II on his throne.*

To the right of the entrance to the longitudinal chamber, Paser is followed by two ladies (Pl. XVII). He presents to his king two bouquets of flowers (lotus, papyrus and mandrakes are distinguishable), and some birds hang from his right arm. The king is seated on the throne with all the insignia of royalty. In front of him, the two cartouches are written :     . To the right of the names, an uræus is represented on the top of a lotus flower and curling her body round the stalk; a  is in front of the serpent's breast. To the left of the stalk is written  and  and under them is  , the whole means «the beloved of Wadjit, given life, health and prosperity». Behind the king is his fan which is held by an  with two arms. The fan was decorated with the king's names which are damaged now; from the texts we distinguish now the word   and to its left,  . To the left of the fan's handle, there is a vertical line of inscriptions                  «All health is behind him like Rē for ever and ever». Over the fan and behind the king's head, the following signs are written :     «Prosperity, stability, life and protection».

The pedestal of the kiosk is decorated with seven rings intended to contain the names of some foreign lands. Before the kiosk stand two officials, each one of them holds an ostrich feather in his right hand and a battle axe in his left.

Paser wears a gold necklace and is followed by two women who are in all probability his wife and one of his daughters. The first of them holds a bouquet of flowers in her right hand, and in her left hand a

sistrum, a mirror case and a whisk. The mirror seems to have been a royal present, the hand of the lady covers a part of the inscriptions, but the signs that are visible read : 𓆎 𓆏 . . . . . 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔.

The other lady holds a mirror-case and a whisk in her right hand which is crossed over her breast, and a sistrum is held in her left hand. Over Paser, the two ladies and the two officials there are fourteen vertical lines of inscription written from left to right :



𓆎 𓆏 «Bringing every good and pure thing by the great favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the praised one of the Good God, who fills the two ears of Horus with truth, the follower of the King on his excursions on water, on land and to every foreign country, to whom are given the favours from the King as decorations of electrum, the captain of troops, the child of the nursery, the chief of the followers of his Majesty when he was crown-prince, Paser, true of voice; for the welfare of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Aa-kheperu-re', who lives forever and ever. He says : « For thy Ka,—thou (lit. this) Good God, beautiful of face beloved one of Rē; birds, being that which the fields bring to thee and plants being that which the Nile brings to thee, and oxen, short-horned cattle and young cattle being that which the field of Horus brings to thee ».

§ 8.—Behind Paser and his family, the presents mentioned in the text are represented in four registers. The wall was not finished (cf. Pl. XVIII) and so we see only the beginnings of these registers. Most of the figures of men specially in the upper two registers did not receive their final finish at the hands of the painter.

*Top register* : Five attendants who bring a duck, fruits on portable tables, flowers and a fat bull. The last one holds in his hand a small dry branch from a tree which cannot be identified with certainty.

*Second register* : Six attendants, the first of whom holds with both hands the horns of an ibex, the other five bring flowers and fruit. A bull whose skin is spotted white and black walks at their side; a lotus flower hangs from its neck as well as from the neck of the ibex.

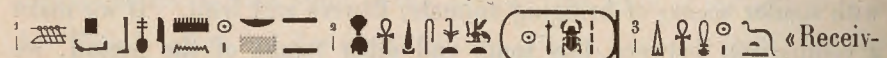
*Third register* : Three servants, the first carries a portable table laden with grapes and holds bouquets of papyrus and convolvulus plants in each hand<sup>(1)</sup>. The second brings two ducks in one hand and a bouquet in the other; the third one carries two baskets hanging from a rod on his shoulders. The rod is decorated, the right basket is full of grapes and the left one is full of figs, both of them are surmounted by lotus flowers.

*Fourth register* : In this register we see only one attendant carrying birds in his right hand and dragging a great bull. The head of the bull is decorated with papyrus flowers and a lotus flower hangs from its neck. A few traces of the upper part of a second servant are seen at the side of the animal. The rest of the wall was intended to be painted with similar scenes of bringing animals, flowers and fruit. If we make a comparison between this tomb and other tombs of the period, we find that at the other side of the entrance to the longitudinal chamber, a second representation of the throne scene had to be painted. Generally we find that the owner of the tomb is followed by scenes depicting his office or what was related to it during life. Paser was an officer and we would expect to see some scenes of soldiers as in many other tombs, but the place was occupied by other things which he presented to his lord. Almost half the wall area did not receive its decoration, and probably the scene which showed him with his troops was at the other side of the door.


<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. KEIMER, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, p. 45 and the drawings on p. 178-179 specially fig. 4.

§ 9.—*The left side of the entrance* (Pl. XIX).

The two thicknesses of the entrance are left without decoration, but at both sides of the door from inside we find two similar scenes of Paser and his wife Baky presenting offerings to the deities and followed by servants who bring other gifts. In front of them there are many offerings of different kinds. The arrangement of the scenes at both sides was the same; the bottom register is a series of offering-bearers while the owners of the tomb are followed by others. At the right side there are two registers but on the left it was intended to make three. Owing to the fact that this side of the wall was never finished we find only the beginning of every register. Paser holds between his hands an ointment vase which he pours over the offerings which are represented in five registers. The top register contains seven vases of ointment, everyone of which is decorated with a lotus flower. The second register contains figs, bread, cucumber, a goose, an ox's foreleg and a piece of meat. The third one is composed of flowers, cucumber, lettuce, figs and grapes. The fourth contains cucumber, grapes, figs, onions, bread and meat. The baskets containing the fruit are beautifully decorated. The fifth register has much suffered but we can still distinguish a table. Under his elbow there is a text of three lines :

 «Receiving the happiness of Amenrē, Lord of the (thrones) of the Two Lands for the welfare of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Aa-Kheperu-rē, who gives life like Rē forever».

Under the inscription a servant stands and presents to his master two vases; one of them is in the shape of a goose and the other is of the ordinary type **I**. Behind Paser are his wife and a daughter but both of them were smeared with mud and mutilated by the hermit who lived in this tomb and left behind him many paintings of crosses and graffiti, some of them are seen on this wall. We can distinguish the wife putting one hand over her breast while the other is at her side and holds a sistrum and some flowers. The upper part of the sistrum is damaged, but the lower part is preserved, we can distinguish the following signs

on its handle : . Over the scene, there is an inscription of twelve lines, the first of them is written over the vases of ointments and the others are vertical and are written from right to left :



«Offering every good and pure thing, and every good and sweet thing to Amenrē, Lord of Karnak, to Rē-Harakhti, to Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, to Anubis who is in front of the divine booth, to Hathor, the mistress of Thebes, to the Gods who are in the Necropolis, consisting of ointments, wine, milk, birds, forelegs of oxen, the choicest of meat, fattened geese on the altars to Amenrē by the King's follower in his campaigns to Southern and Northern countries<sup>(1)</sup>, the Captain of Troops, the Child of the Nursery, the praised one of the Good God, the Chief of the followers of his Majesty, Paser, true of voice».

In front of his wife, a line of inscription was intended to be written but was never inserted. The wall behind Baky was divided and the guiding lines in red are still seen. In each of the three registers only the first of the bearers of offerings is depicted. In the upper register a man holds a papyrus bouquet in one hand together with four ducks and holds three lotus flowers in the other hand. In the middle row a man holds a duck and white bread. In the lower register a man carries a papyrus bouquet on his shoulder and holds a small table by the other hand.

Under the previous scene there is a register serving as dado; it consists of servants bringing offerings. From right to left we see a butcher slaughtering an ox, he is seen cutting the foreleg after having extracted the heart and a piece of the ribs and put them in a pot. The second

<sup>(1)</sup> This might refer to the Syrian campaign of Amenophis II and his other campaign to the Nubian territories

which were undertaken by the King at an early date.

and third servants carry pieces of meat, the fourth carries flowers while the fifth drags a bull; between the bull's horns there is a string with papyrus leaves.

§ 10.—The right side of the entrance. Pls. XX, XXI.

The other side of the entrance, *i. e.* north-eastern wall, is divided into two parts; the part near the door is similar to the scene at the other side and already described, the rest of the wall is occupied by a banquet.

The offering-scene shows Paser and his wife offering; in front of them there are many offerings and behind them there are two registers of servants bringing flowers and victuals. Paser holds in each hand a small offering stand (now damaged), the figure of his wife was deliberately damaged and smeared with mud.

The offerings are in five registers like the other side but differ in arrangement. The seven vases of ointments are coloured, the upper third of each one of them is always red but the rest is different. Two of them are white with light grey spots imitating alabaster, two green, two are red with white spots imitating granite and one blue. Over and under the tables of the different registers there are a great number of mandrake fruit. Over the offerings and Paser there is a text of fourteen lines :



« Offering every good and pure thing and every good and sweet thing to Amenrē, King of the Gods, to (Rē)-Harakhti, to Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, to Anubis who is in front of the divine booth, to all the Gods of the Upland, to the Ennead which is in the Necropolis that they may give all that appears on their altars to the Ka of the Hereditary Prince, the King's follower in his campaigns, to

(1) Inside the — there are five stars.

the only excellent one, who is praised by his Majesty, enduring of love for the Lord of the Two Lands, who is foremost among his courtiers, the Child of the Nursery, Chief of the followers of his Majesty, Paser, true of voice».

In front of him, there are three fragmentary lines of inscription :



« . . . . Happiness of Amenrē, Lord of Karnak and Hathor, mistress of . . . . ointments, wine . . . . geese, choicest of meat, fat geese (on) the altars of Amun, for the welfare of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'A-kheperu-re', who lives forever».

Behind Baky, there are two registers, the top one shows four persons, the first of whom wears a green necklace and carries in his hands papyrus flowers and four ducks. The second carries ducks and drags a bull decorated with flowers; the third brings lotus flowers and bread while the fourth carries a branch of seven pomegranates in one hand and a basket of grapes in the other. The second register is composed of five servants; the first brings white triangular bread; in front of him there is a table laden with fruit and covered with flowers. The second attendant brings a bunch of wheat ears in one hand and sand-grouse in the other. The third carries a woven tray supporting a small bouquet of lotus flowers and onions, bunches of lotus and grapes hang from his arm. The fourth brings two bouquets of papyrus and convolvulus while the fifth one carries lotus and ducks. Over these two registers, there are two horizontal lines of inscription :



« Bringing every good and pure thing, presents of all kinds of flowers, together with oxen. Cattle, birds and flowers are presented as offerings to Amun, Lord of Karnak, to Rē-Harakhti, to the Gods and Goddesses, to Hathor, Mistress of the Cemetery, to Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, to Anubis who is in front of the divine booth».

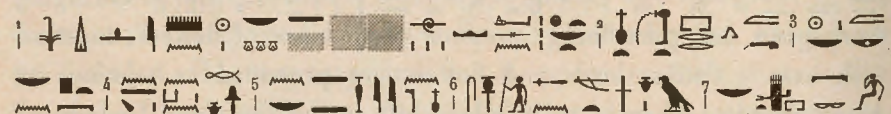
The dado of this wall, is like the other one, composed of a register of figures of attendants; the part of it which belongs to the scene of offerings shows eleven persons, all of whom are looking to the left. The first is a butcher slaying an ox, the second and third are carrying the head and the foreleg of the animal, the fourth and fifth bring flowers and food, a second bull walks beside them. Behind the bull walks the sixth servant carrying lotus flowers and a bunch of pomegranates. The seventh holds a hare in one hand and drags a goat in the other; the last four are not well preserved, we can only see parts of the flower bouquets which they are bringing.

§ 11.—The Banquet Scene (Pls. XXI-XXIII).

This scene is the most important in this tomb. Its arrangement is quite simple. Paser and his wife sit on a sofa with a table laden with victuals and drinks before them. At the other side of the table, there are four registers, the guests occupy the upper two and the musicians the lower ones. The rest of the guests are painted on the bottom register below the whole scene. Thus we can divide the whole scene into five parts, (A) Paser, his wife and two daughters, (B) The offering-table, (C) The upper guests, (D) The lower guests, (E) The musicians. Every one of these five parts will be described here in a special paragraph.

§ 12.—Paser, his wife and two daughters.

Paser and his wife Baky are seated on a sofa, two small daughters stand by them. The face of Paser was purposely dirtied but the whole figures of the three females were damaged and smeared with mud. Paser holds a sceptre in one hand and a lotus flower in the other. In front and above them, there are nine lines of inscription :



« An offering which the king gives to Amenrē, Lord of Karnak, and . . . . . memphite Necropolis that they might give every

good and pure thing and which comes forth in the presence every day and at every feast of Heaven and of Earth, to the Ka of the perfect favourite of the Lord of the Two Lands, the praised one of the Good God, the greatly beloved courtier, who is in the heart of Horus, Lord of the Palace (i. e. the King), the Captain of Troops, the Child of the Nursery, Paser, true of voice».

The ninth line is over the wife : « His wife, the mistress of the house, Baky, true of voice ».

§ 13.—The Offering-table.

At the top there is a list of twenty-two kinds, and then five registers. To the right there is a man bringing flowers and a woman who offers drinks to Paser and his wife. Under the table there are three large jars, one for water and two for wine. The list is as follows :

1 	2 	3 	4 	5 		
water	ht'—bread	psn—bread	dpt·i—cakes	ivr—meat		
6 	7 	8 	9 	10 	11 	12 
roast	wine	beer	špn·t—drink	water		honey
13 	14 	15 	16 	17 		
red drink	bd—natron	wine	roast	large portion of meat		
18 	19 	20 	21 	22 		
hwn		pꜣd gꜣwi—cakes				
piece of meat	cakes	in two halves	red drink	washing and purifying		

(1) Since the M. K. this expression is a remark of recitation in the middle of the list and not a kind of drink or food, Wörterbuch, II, p. 471.

As for the form of vases and bowls in which they were put and the numbers offered of every kind, consult the photograph on pl. XXI.

The vases of ointments at the top of the offerings are eight and decorated in the same manner as in the other scene. Among the different kinds of food we can distinguish three kinds of bread, figs, sycamore, grape, mandrake and cucumber. We find also the head of an ox, its foreleg and other joints of meat.

The woman offering the drink presents a bowl with her right hand while she holds a jug in her left palm and two small ones hang from her fingers. Over her wrist is a white cloth, a napkin to be used by the drinker if needed.

The three jars under the table are interesting. Although the three are of the same height, the water jar differs from the two containing wine both in colour and form. The stopper of the water jar is of clay while the other two wine jars are covered with leaves of bread. These types are often found and their height is about 50 cms. (Pl. XXI).

§ 14.—*The Upper Guests.*

These are the guests in the two upper registers over the musicians (see pl. XXI) where we find four couples, each couple seated on a sofa and served by a special servant. These seem to be the distinguished guests of Paser. The four servants (two males and two females) offer them drinks.

§ 15.—*The Lower Guests.*

In the bottom register (the dado of this wall, under the whole scene—see Pls. XX, XXI) we see seven guests who sit separately on chairs; the first three are males but the rest are females. All of them hold flowers, a servant offers wine and holds a towel in the other hand. Behind the servant we see fifteen jars of drinks, the upper ten are put on a special stand of wood, but the five at the bottom are larger and every one is placed on a separate stand. All these jars are painted and decorated;

on two of them, the words  $\text{𓆎}$  and  $\text{𓆏}$  are written. Six servants are seen bringing flowers, fruits and birds to the guests<sup>(1)</sup>.

§ 16.—*Musicians and Dancers.*

These are in two registers; the upper one shows eight women, five musicians and three dancers. The foremost one seems to be the singer, she is beating time with her hands. The dancers are moving vigorously and two of them are represented performing a dance very similar to the dances of negroes. All the instruments except the triangular harp at the end are common in other tombs of the period, and examples have been found and are to be seen in various museums<sup>(2)</sup>. The bottom register is much destroyed and seems to have been composed of male musicians together with women dancers. The first of them is well preserved and plays on a harp surmounted by a falcon head<sup>(3)</sup>, the last musician plays on a small harp put over his shoulder.

The triangular harp in this scene is the only example known from this period<sup>(4)</sup>. It occurs in later times, it has nine strings, four tassels hang from it and its horizontal piece ends with a goose's head; it hangs from the neck of its player who consequently has her two hands free for playing.

<sup>(1)</sup> The types of sofas, chairs and vases in this scene are common in other tombs of this period in similar banquet scenes. For example, see WRESZINSKI, *Atlas*, Pl. 258 where we see similar things in the Tomb of Thotnefer (No. 80, Amenophis II). WRESZINSKI'S Pl. 272 shows an important scene for comparison with our tomb which depicts a scene of a banquet in the Tomb of Amenemhab which dates, also, from the same period (Tuthmosis III-Amenophis II).

<sup>(2)</sup> C. SACHS, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Aegyptens*, p. 66.

<sup>(3)</sup> Siegfried SCHOTT, *Der Gott des Harfenspiels*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. I,

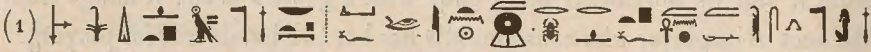
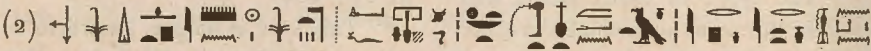
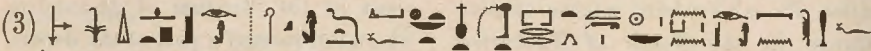
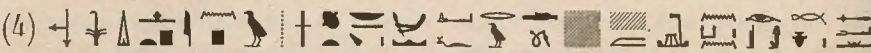
p. 457-464.

<sup>(4)</sup> This type of harp is known to us through Wilkinson's sketch from this tomb and the famous scene of musicians in the Museum of Alexandria. The latter formed a part of the decoration of a Heliopolitan tomb of the Late period from the reign of King Zanefer where we find an old singer playing on a trigon. The whole relief, which is important, was studied by MASPERO, *Musée Égyptien*, II, 1, p. 84 ff, and again by him in his book *Art in Egypt*, p. 264 and fig. 522. The same relief is republished in BRECCIA, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, p. 144-145.

This part of the tomb was very carefully drawn and painted, but the fury of our hermit disfigured it. There is no doubt that if the walls are carefully cleaned from the mud, many details of the scenes as well as their colours would appear. I did not attempt to do it because it needs the hands of a careful artist and an unexperienced hand may cause irreparable damage instead of the expected good results.


§ 17.—*The False-door.* (Pl. XXIV).


The first bay of the Eastern Wall was painted. In the middle, there is the representation of a false-door painted red in imitation of granite, and at each side there are three representations of the Opening of the Mouth. At the bottom, are butchers slaying oxen. As for the scenes of the Opening of the Mouth, they are the common ones and show the same priest clad in his leopard skin performing one rite after the other before the statue of the deceased<sup>(1)</sup>. The false-door is of the ordinary type surmounted by the cornice, the decorations and hieroglyphs are in blue while the dividing lines are drawn in dark red.

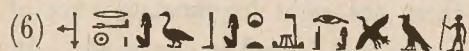
- (1) 
- (2) 
- (3) 
- (4) 

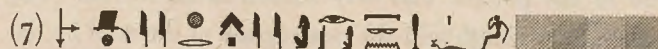
<sup>(1)</sup> The six representations at the two sides of the false-door are a small extract from the ceremonies of the Opening of the Mouth. For these rites, see SCHIAPARELLI, *Il Libro dei Funerali* and BUDGE,

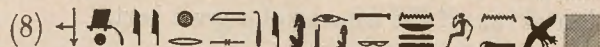
*Book of Opening the Mouth.* See also BLACKMANN, *The rite of Opening the Mouth*, in *J.E.A.*, X, p. 47 ff and BALLY, *Notes on the Ritual of Opening the Mouth*, in *J.E.A.*, XVI, p. 173 ff.

(5) In the rectangle Paser is seated on a chair, an offering-table is in front of him, a priest is at the other side, over him is written .

Over Paser : 

(6) 

(7) 

(8) 

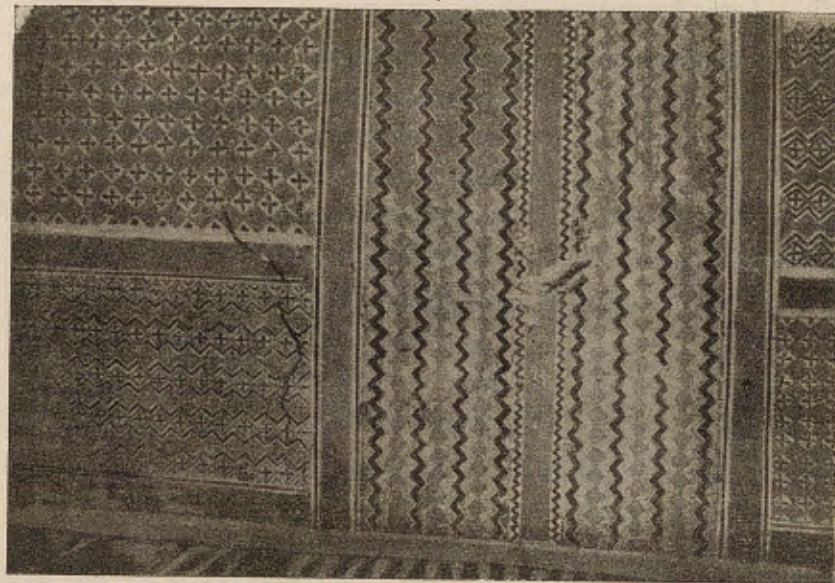


Fig. 65.

§ 18.—*The Ceiling.* (fig. 65).

A small part of the ceiling near the entrance of the tomb was decorated. The hieroglyphs which are usually written between the different patterns were not inserted. Fig. 65 shows the three patterns in this tomb which are of very common types in this period.

§ 19.—*A late painting in the longitudinal chamber.*

I have shown in § 2—that the tomb was robbed in the XIXth dynasty if not earlier, and was undoubtedly left unprotected. It was used in



the XXII<sup>nd</sup> dynasty and then in the XXV<sup>th</sup>, but in the Ptolemaic period, a burial was cut in the eastern wall of the longitudinal chamber, and over it a painting was left. Pl. XXV shows all what is there; Osiris stands at the right, and in front of him there are eight fragmentary lines of prayers. The name of the person who was buried is destroyed. All the writings are in blue, very rough and the destruction of the wall by the thieves who robbed the burial caused the damage of a great part.

§ 20.—*Coptic Inscriptions.*

All the Coptic paintings and inscriptions are in red, as for their date, the Twelfth Century is a very probable one. I give the graffiti in the same order which was followed when describing the scenes on the walls :

(a) In front of the two officials standing before Amenophis II in his kiosk (cf. Pl. XVII) there was a graffito of four lines which was scratched out in a later date. The following letters are preserved :

ΠΝΟΥ  
ΠΩΗ  
ΠΑΤ̄Ν ΕΥ  
██████████

(b) On the figure of Paser in the same scene, a cross is painted, in front of him is written  $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{PEXC}}$ .

(c) Over the bull (cf. Pl. XVIII) in the bottom register, also  $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ .

(d) At the left side of the entrance (cf. Pl. XIX) there are many crosses; in the middle of the scene, just over Paser's knee, we read : ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΝΑΛ ΑΓΑΠΗ.

(e) Under the offering-table in front of Paser in the scene of the banquet (Pl. XXII) :

ΠΩΤ Μ̄Ν ΠΩΗΡΕ  
Μ̄Ν ΠΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
ΦΑΝΙΝΕΣ ΝΙΝΕΣ ΣΑΜΗΝ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄ΝΑΒΡΑΣΑΜ ΜΝ  
ΕΣΑΛΛΑΚ̄ ΜΝ ΕΙΑΚΩΒ

$\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{PEXC}} \overline{\text{PXOETC}}$   
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΝΑΙ

(f) On the false-door, under the chair at the right :

ΟΥΑΓΕΟΣ  
ΑΠΑ ΠΑΣΩΜ  
ΟΥΑΓΕΟΣ  
ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΟΡ  
ΟΥΑΓΕΟΣ ΑΠΑ  
ΠΣΑΤΕ ΟΥΓΕ  
ΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΤΕΡΕ  
ΚΟΣ † IC XC

There are many other places on the walls where we find painted crosses and the name of Christ; all the crosses and inscriptions were made by one hand. It seems that one hermit only lived here and drove away the evil spirit of the pagan paintings by destroying the figures and smearing the women with mud and writing the name of Christ and other Holy Fathers on the walls.

§ 21.—*Objects found in the debris.*

The objects which were found in this tomb and will be described in the next paragraphs are what was left by the thieves after robbing the tomb and the later two burials which were cut in its floor in later times.

These objects are :

- (a) Funerary cones of Paser
- (b) A lid of one of the canopic vases
- (c) Two wooden funerary stelae
- (d) Linen on which is inscribed the name of Taharqa
- (e) Late Shawabti-figures and beads.

§ 22.—*The funerary cones of Paser :*

In front of the entrance to the tomb, a part of the debris was removed, and there were found twenty funerary cones of burnt clay, all of them

are of one type. The inscription is in three vertical lines written from left to right and as usual contained inside a circle. These cones were used as a decoration of the façade over the rock, and this explains why we find them always in the forecourt. They were put as a string-course below the cornice; this usage began only in the middle of the XVIIIth dynasty<sup>(1)</sup>.

The principal titles are generally written on the cones, these titles are in our case three only, Chief of Followers, Captain of the Troops and Child of the Nursery.

§ 23.—*A lid of a canopic vase :*

The main burial chamber has two separate burial places, one of them was for the tomb-owner and the other, in all probability for his wife. Both burials were robbed in ancient times and reused in later periods but were once more robbed by modern thieves. While cleaning the place, a lid of the canopic vase representing Hapi was found. It is made of a very good quality of alabaster and of an excellent workmanship. Its style makes the date of the XVIIIth dynasty a very probable one, and may be the only object left to us from the original burial.

Few Shawabti figures from the late period were found also in the débris of the same place, these will be discussed in § 26.

§ 24.—*Two Funerary Wooden Stelae :*

Two burials were cut in the floor of the pillard-hall and were used by a man and his son. The places were found disturbed, the mummies were robbed from all their contents, the wooden sarcophagi were broken, but few pieces were found. The important objects left by the thieves are two wooden stelae, each of them was found in one of the two burials.

<sup>(1)</sup> DAVIES in *J.E.A.* (24), 1938, p. 25. For the usage of cones, see WINLOCK in *Bull. M.M.A.* (February 1928). The latest study was done by BORCHARDT, KÖNIGSBERGER and

RICKE in *Ä.Z.*, 70, p. 29 ff. For the collections of cones from the Theban Necropolis, see DARESSY, *Recueil de cônes funéraires* and GAUTHIER, *Bulletin, I.F.A.O.*, XVI.

First stela : Pl. XXVI, Height 0, m. 30 cms; breadth, 0, m. 22.5 cms.

The owner stands to the right praying to Osiris who stands holding a sceptre. Behind him, the goddess of the west stands. Behind the man there is a place for another person, the destruction of this part makes it impossible to know with what representation it was occupied. The owner was a priest of Amun at Karnak, his father was a musician of Amun and is a descendant of one of the daughters of one of the Takelots of the XXIInd dynasty. The texts on this stela are written over a thin layer of stucco, many parts fell down, the following are preserved :

In front of the tomb-owner, In front of Osiris :

The lower part of the stela is occupied by four lines of inscription written from right to left :

Second stela : Pl. XXVII, Height 0, m. 304 mm., breadth, 0, m. 22 cms. The top is occupied by the representation of the winged sun-disk.

The owner sits playing on his harp in the presence of Horus, he wears a white wide cloak; his harp has ten strings and is surmounted by a royal head. The text on this stela begins at the top, it consists of fourteen lines, ten of them are written vertically at the top, two are horizontal under the scene of Haroudja and Horus, and the last two lines are written in cursive at the back (see fig. 66); the inscription is :

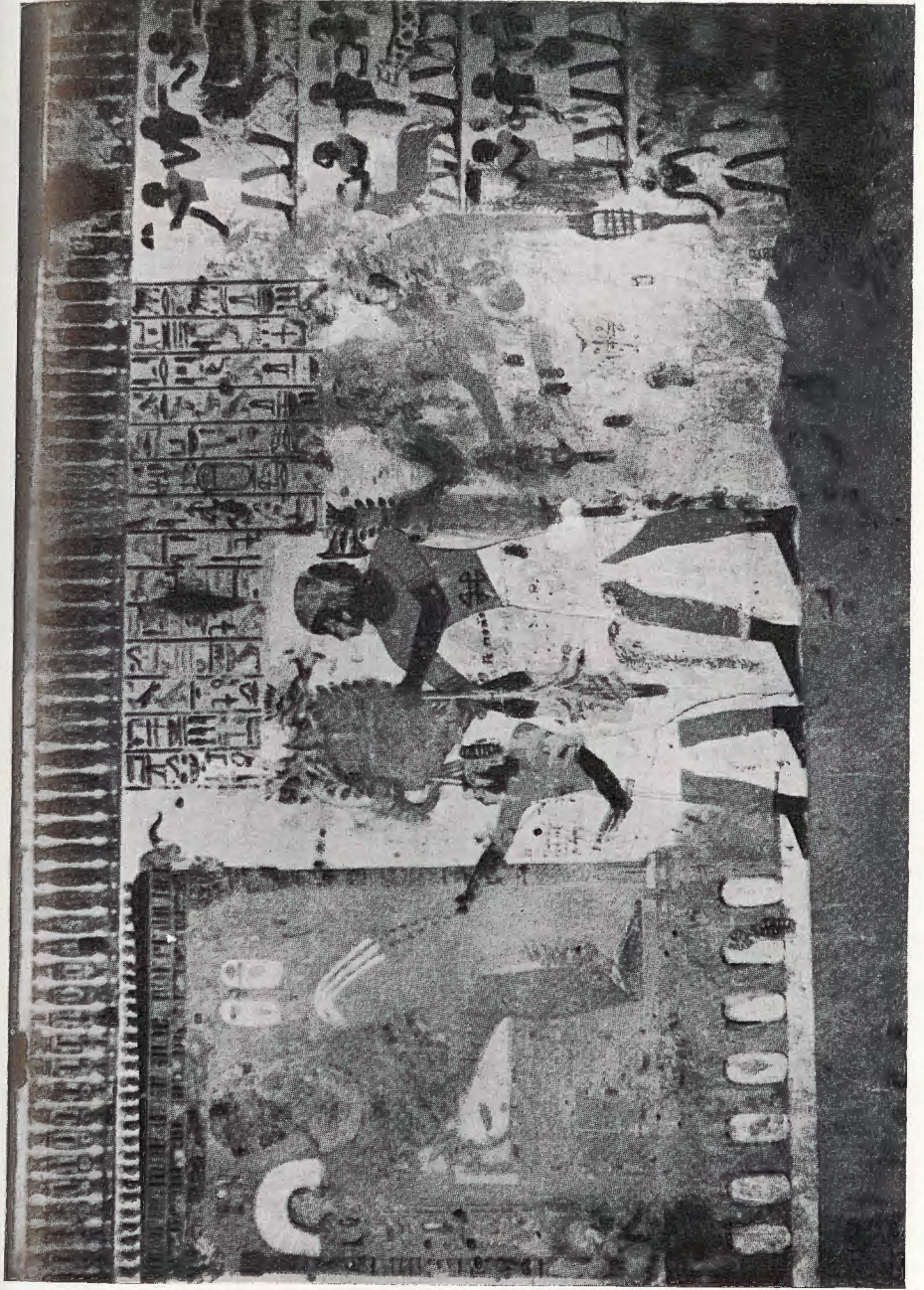


The date of the burials of Iufwa and his son are from the XXVth dynasty, this is proved from the linen of Taharqa which might had been a present to Haroudja the son, who was the Chief of Musicians of Amun and which was put with him in his tomb. Between Taharqa and the Takelots there is about one hundred years, a time concurring very well with the four generations of Haroudja, his father, his grand-mother, Zedmutes'ankh and her father who was a king in the XXIInd dynasty.

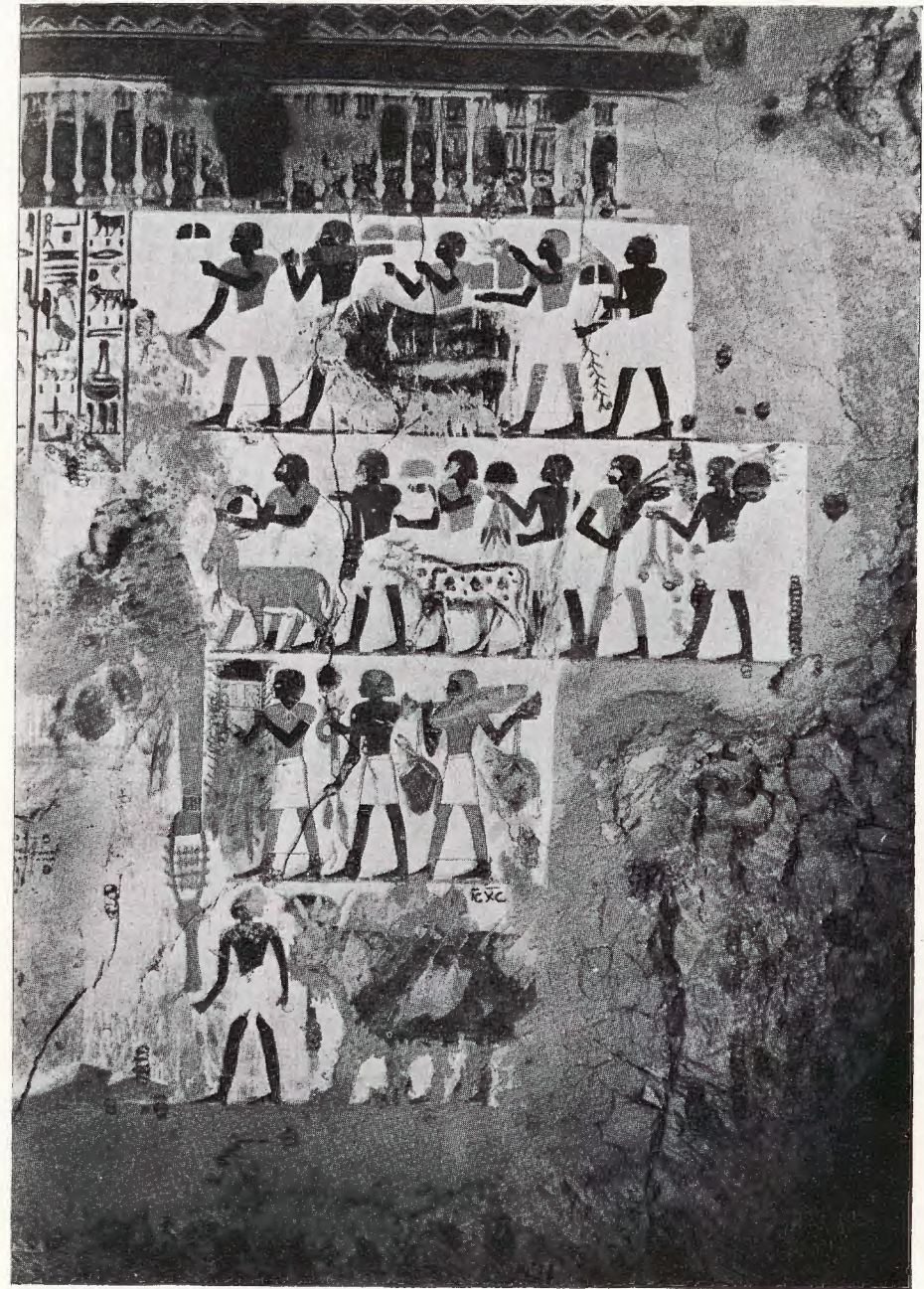
AHMED FAKHRY.



Paser offers to Osiris.



Paser followed by his wife and one of his daughters in front of the throne of Amenophis II.



Servants bringing cattle, birds, flowers and other things to the King.



Paser holds a vase of unguent in order to pour its contents on the other offerings.

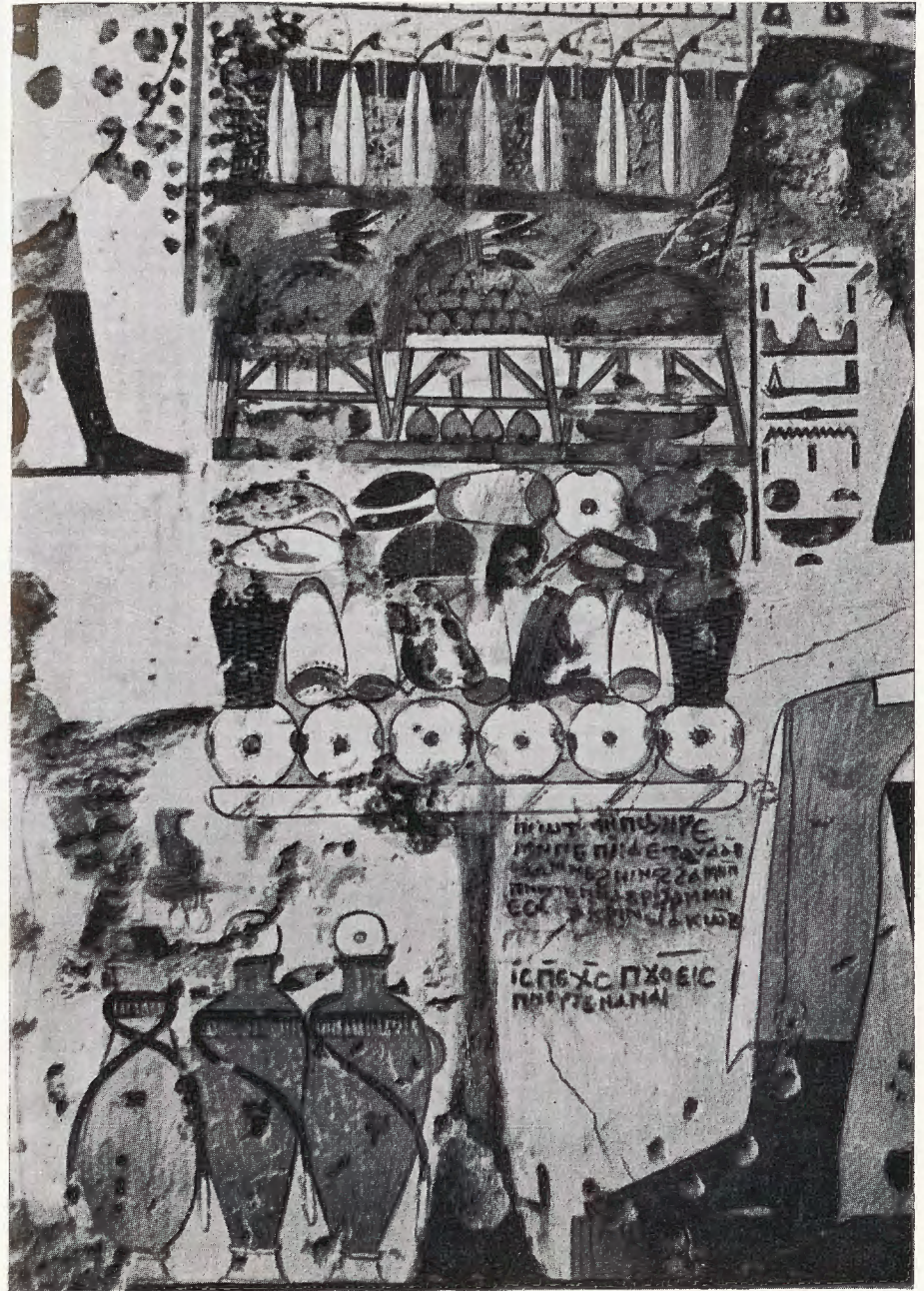


At the other side of the door, Paser stands with small altars in his hands at the side of the offerings.





Paser and his wife in the banquet scene.



The offering-table in front of Paser and his wife.



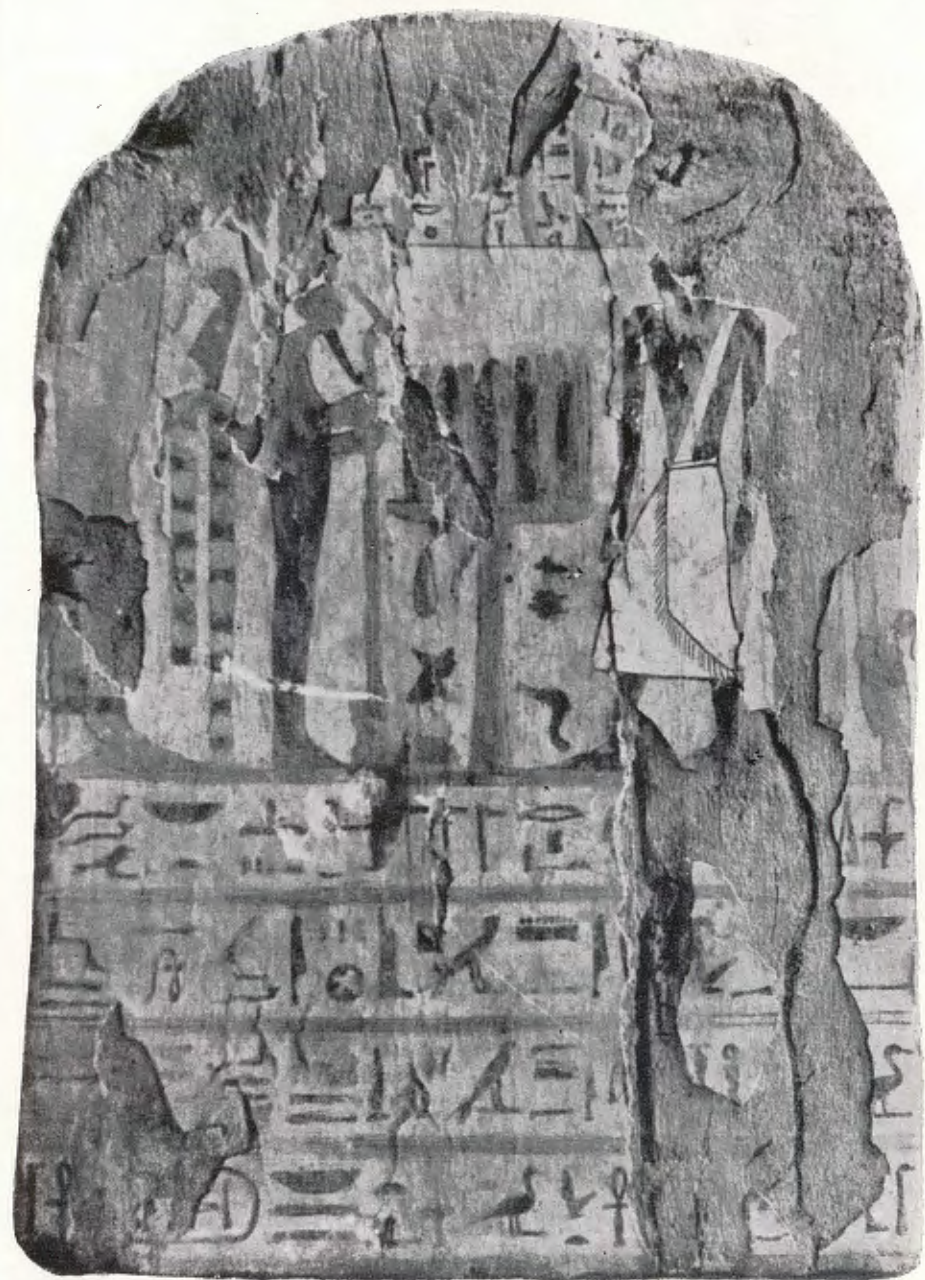
The musicians and dancers in the banquet scene.



The false-door with scenes from the ceremonies of the Opening of the Mouth.



A late painting in the longitudinal corridor.



The wooden stela of Iuf-awa.



The wooden stela of the musician of Amun Haroudja.

## FOUILLES SUR LA CHAUSSÉE D'OUNAS

(1941-1943).

La portion supérieure de la chaussée de calcaire fin, attenant au temple funéraire d'Ounas situé sur le plateau de Sakkarah, avait été déblayée, en 1937-1938, sur une longueur de 250 mètres environ, par Zakaria Eff. Goneim, sous le contrôle du Prof. Sélim bey Hassan, à qui l'on doit le Rapport préliminaire publié dans les *Annales* <sup>(1)</sup> sur ce sujet.

En même temps, une autre fouille avait été commencée à 60 mètres environ au nord du point où la route venant de Mit-Rahineh aborde le désert, à un endroit très ensablé où l'on pouvait espérer retrouver les vestiges du Temple de la vallée. En fait elles ne mirent à jour que deux grandes murailles se rencontrant à angle droit, construites en blocs de calcaire soigneusement appareillés, mais sans aucune particularité qui permit de se faire une opinion sur leur destination, ni sur leur relation avec le Temple de la vallée que l'on cherchait. Aussi la fouille ne fut pas poussée plus loin. Quant aux 300 stèles, et plus, qu'on aurait alors trouvées à cet endroit <sup>(2)</sup>, elles n'ont, pas plus que le temple mentionné, jamais existé que dans l'imagination de l'auteur du Rapport précité.

Il était indispensable, pour orienter les recherches futures entre ces deux points, de commencer par fixer le trajet de la chaussée sous les amas considérables de sable dont la réduction des crédits, conséquence de la guerre, ne me permettait plus d'envisager le déblaiement total. C'est pourquoi je chargeai Abd-el-Salam Eff. Hussein, architecte du Service à Sakkarah, de dresser ce plan de la chaussée, en lui accordant, cela va sans dire, les crédits nécessaires aux vérifications sur le terrain.

Ét. DRIOTON.

L'objet de cette note est seulement d'indiquer la méthode employée pour fixer sur la carte (pl. XXXI) le tracé de la chaussée d'Ounas, à Sakkarah, et d'exposer brièvement les résultats obtenus. La description architecturale

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<sup>(1)</sup> SÉLIM HASSAN, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1937-1938), dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*,

XXXVIII (1938), p. 519-521.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Id.*, p. 521



des monuments mêmes et la publication des antiquités découvertes au cours des travaux de sondages feront l'objet de mémoires spéciaux.

Les chaussées de ce genre étant des plans inclinés entre un temple funéraire, bâti sur le plateau désertique, et un temple d'accueil à la limite de la plaine cultivée, des sondages plus ou moins espacés ne peuvent être conçus et réglés que comme les vérifications d'une épure établie en fonction d'inclinaisons et de directions données.

L'examen de l'inclinaison du pavement, dans la portion de la chaussée déblayée aux abords du temple funéraire, me donna la moyenne de 0 m. 045 par mètre.

Quant à la direction, elle dépend nécessairement de la configuration du terrain et, en particulier dans le désert, de ses accidents rocheux.

Ne remarquant dans l'état du sol actuel rien qui s'opposât à la continuation en ligne droite, vers l'est, de la chaussée précédemment dégagée sur le haut du plateau, je pratiquai le sondage n° 1 (pl. XXXI) à 40 mètres en avant dans cette direction. J'y retrouvai le pavement de la chaussée (pl. XXXI, 1<sup>er</sup> sondage) à la cote que j'avais prévue : 43 m. 92 au-dessus du niveau de la mer.

A partir de là pourtant il devenait invraisemblable que la chaussée continuât beaucoup plus loin vers l'est. Elle serait allée buter contre le massif rocheux, émergeant des sables accumulés, qui surplombe l'ouady de descente vers la vallée, infléchi du nord-ouest au sud-est, par où passe la route actuelle de Sakkarah. Il était beaucoup plus probable que la chaussée antique avait emprunté, elle aussi, le thalweg de cet ouady.

Pour le vérifier, je marquai à la chaux sur le sol une portion de terrain située à égale distance des crêtes dominant l'ouady de chaque côté, à 135 mètres au sud-est du sondage n° 1, et je fis le calcul :

Niveau moyen de la portion à sonder . . .	43 mètres
Niveau de la chaussée au sondage n° 1 . .	43 m. 92
Distance entre les sondages n° 1 et 2 . .	135 mètres
Abaissement par suite de l'inclinaison . . .	$135 \times 0,045 = 6 \text{ m. } 08$
Niveau de la chaussée au sondage n° 2 . .	$43 \text{ m. } 92 - 6 \text{ m. } 08 = 37 \text{ m. } 84$
Profondeur du sondage à pratiquer . . . . .	$43 \text{ mètres} - 37 \text{ m. } 84 = 5 \text{ m. } 16$

La fouille fut exécutée (pl. XXXI, 2° sondage) et l'on trouva la chaussée exactement au point déterminé, mais à un niveau de 0 m. 08 plus haut

que je ne l'avais prévu, soit à 37 m. 92 au-dessus de celui de la mer. Cette différence, d'ailleurs minime, provient du fait que mon calcul avait été nécessairement établi sur les moyennes des niveaux, alors qu'en réalité les différentes portions de la chaussée n'ont pas une inclinaison rigoureusement uniforme.

La nouvelle direction de la chaussée une fois confirmée par le sondage n° 2, il devenait facile, en prolongeant son tracé en ligne droite vers le nord-ouest jusqu'à son intersection avec le prolongement de la direction suivie par la chaussée au sondage n° 1, de déterminer l'emplacement exact du coude (pl. XXXI).

Du côté de la vallée, aucun obstacle de terrain ne motivant plus de changement de direction, il était vraisemblable que la chaussée descendait en ligne droite. Le sondage n° 3 (pl. XXIX, A) en donna la certitude.

Il restait à déterminer le point d'arrivée de la chaussée, à sa jonction avec le Temple de la vallée. Ce fut dans cette intention que j'entrepris le sondage n° 4 (pl. XXIX). La quantité de sable accumulé ne me permit pas de le terminer en une seule campagne de fouilles, et il reste à le poursuivre pendant une saison prochaine.

Pour préparer cette recherche, je dressai une carte cotée de la région (pl. XXXII). On y trouve portés les sondages n° 2 et 3, qui déterminent la direction de la portion inférieure de la chaussée, ainsi que les murailles dégagées en 1938, sur une seule de leurs faces, par Zakaria Eff. Goneim, mais que la sable avait de nouveau recouvertes en grande partie.

Ces murailles (pl. XXIX, B) présentent en effet des caractères qui les apparentent dès l'abord aux constructions d'Ounas, en particulier par la qualité, les dimensions et l'appareillage des blocs de calcaire. Voilà pourquoi, persuadé qu'elles appartiennent au même ensemble et dans le dessein de les étudier, c'est en les dégagant plus complètement que j'ai commencé le sondage n° 4.

Comme on le voit sur le plan (pl. XXXII), il s'agit de deux murs formant une équerre, dont la branche la plus longue est dirigée d'est en ouest, et la plus courte du sud au nord, vers leur point d'intersection. La première muraille comporte neuf assises subsistantes, sur plusieurs couches de fondation dont la face supérieure, au point indiqué sur le plan, se trouve à 18 m. 52 au-dessus du niveau de la mer. L'inclinaison étant à cet

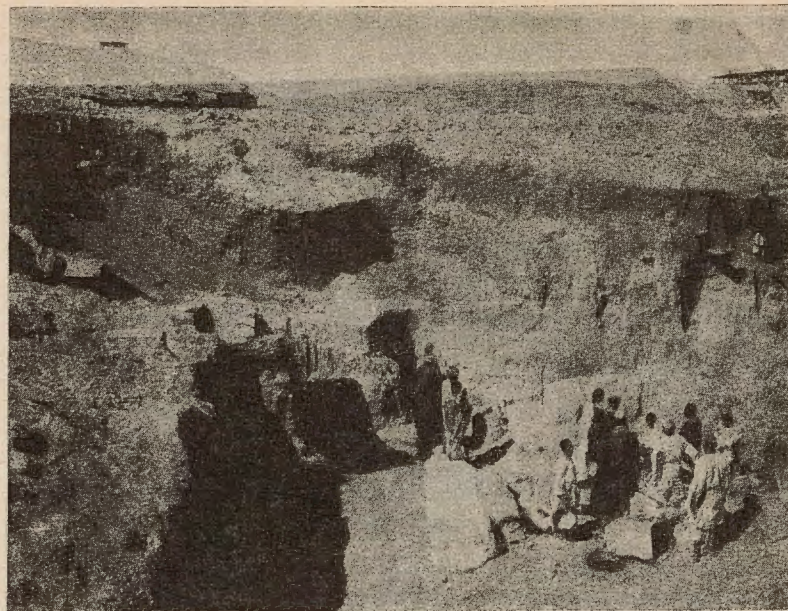
endroit de 0 m. 035 par mètre, je n'ai pas tenté de dégager ce mur en me dirigeant vers la vallée, car il est évident que les fondations de ce côté, se trouvant à la cote de 16 m. 42, sont noyées, de près d'un mètre et demi, sous les eaux d'infiltration, qui affleurent dans les cultures avoisinantes à la cote de 17 m. 80.

Un sondage pratiqué parallèlement à l'autre muraille, le long de sa face ouest, me permit de descendre jusqu'au niveau de 23 mètres, où je rencontrai le roc vif et le départ d'une voûte en briques crues, sensiblement parallèle à cette muraille. L'imminence de la fin des travaux ne me permit pas de m'étendre plus loin à cet endroit. Je jugeai préférable de terminer l'exploration du mur lui-même en m'en rapprochant, et en remettant à la saison suivante l'extension du sondage vers l'ouest.

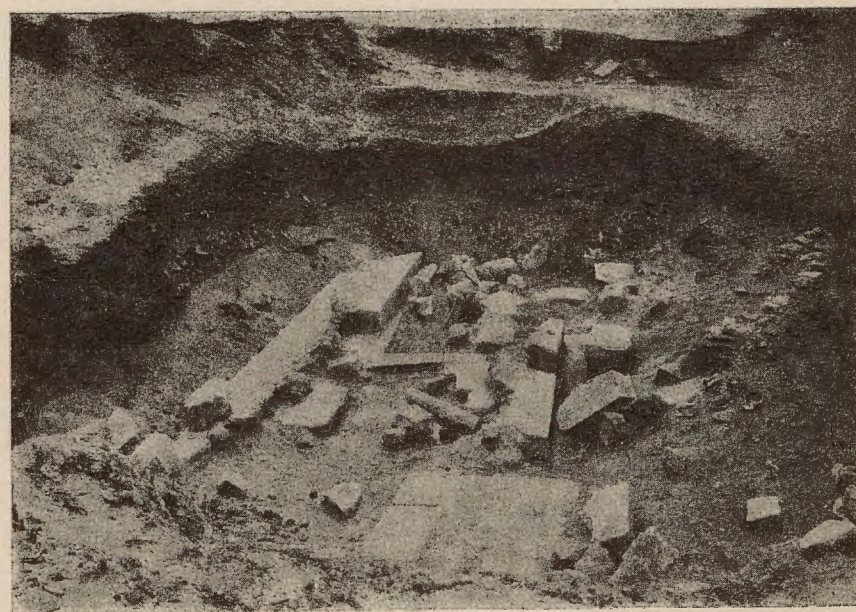
Depuis son point d'intersection avec l'autre mur perpendiculaire, le mur nord-sud est doublé sur sa face ouest par un contrefort en moëllons, d'un mètre quatre-vingt d'épaisseur, auquel s'appuie, comme un arc-boutant, un autre contrefort en briques crues de moitié moins large. C'est peut-être là un dispositif pour garantir la muraille des chutes d'eau tombant de la montagne pendant les orages.

Les quelques pierres sculptées ou autres antiquités recueillies au cours de ces sondages seront publiées par M. le Directeur général.

ABD-EL-SALAM MOHAMED HUSSEIN.



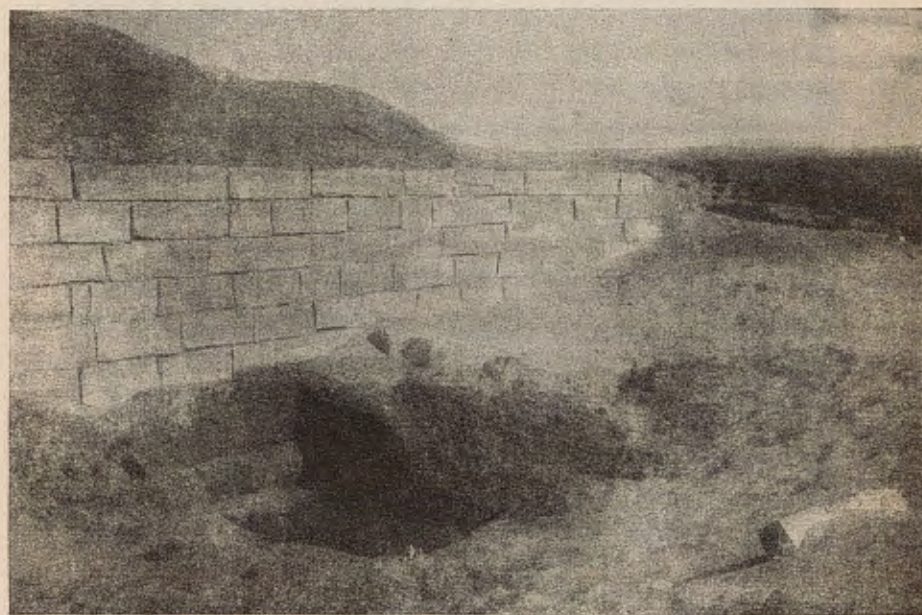
A. — Sondage n° 1.



B. — Sondage n° 2.



A. — Sondage n° 3.



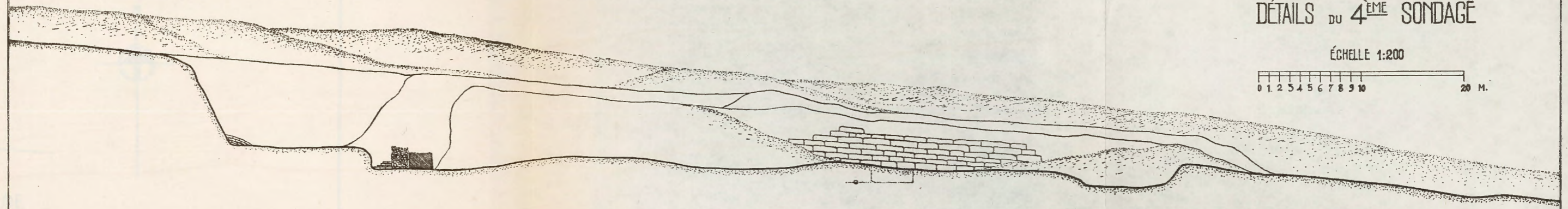
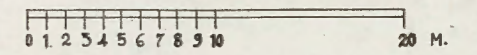
B. — Sondage n° 4.



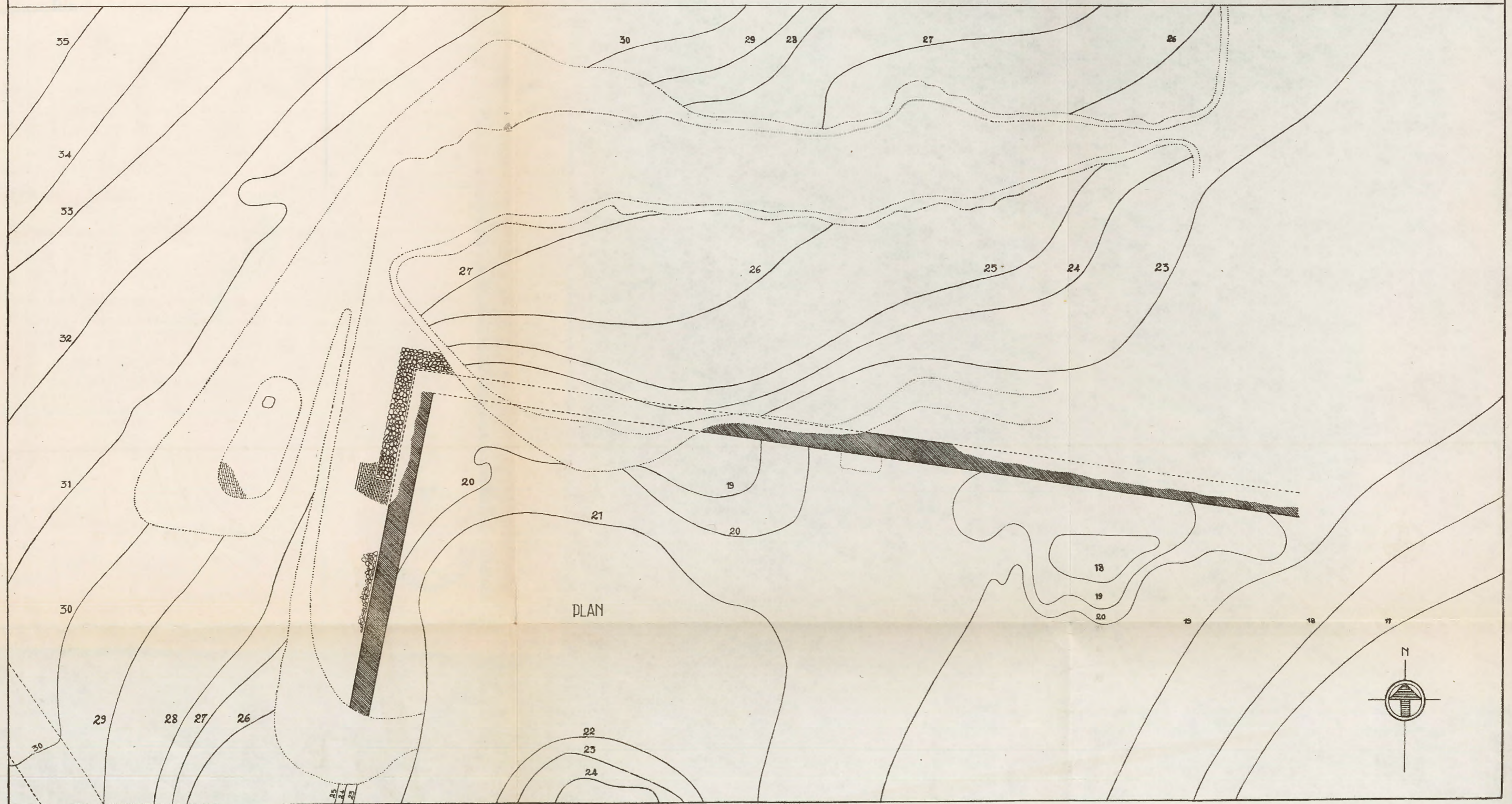
Sondage n° 4 et vue générale.

DÉTAILS DU 4<sup>ÈME</sup> SONDAGE

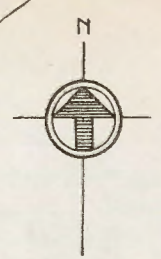
ÉCHELLE 1:200



COUPE



PLAN





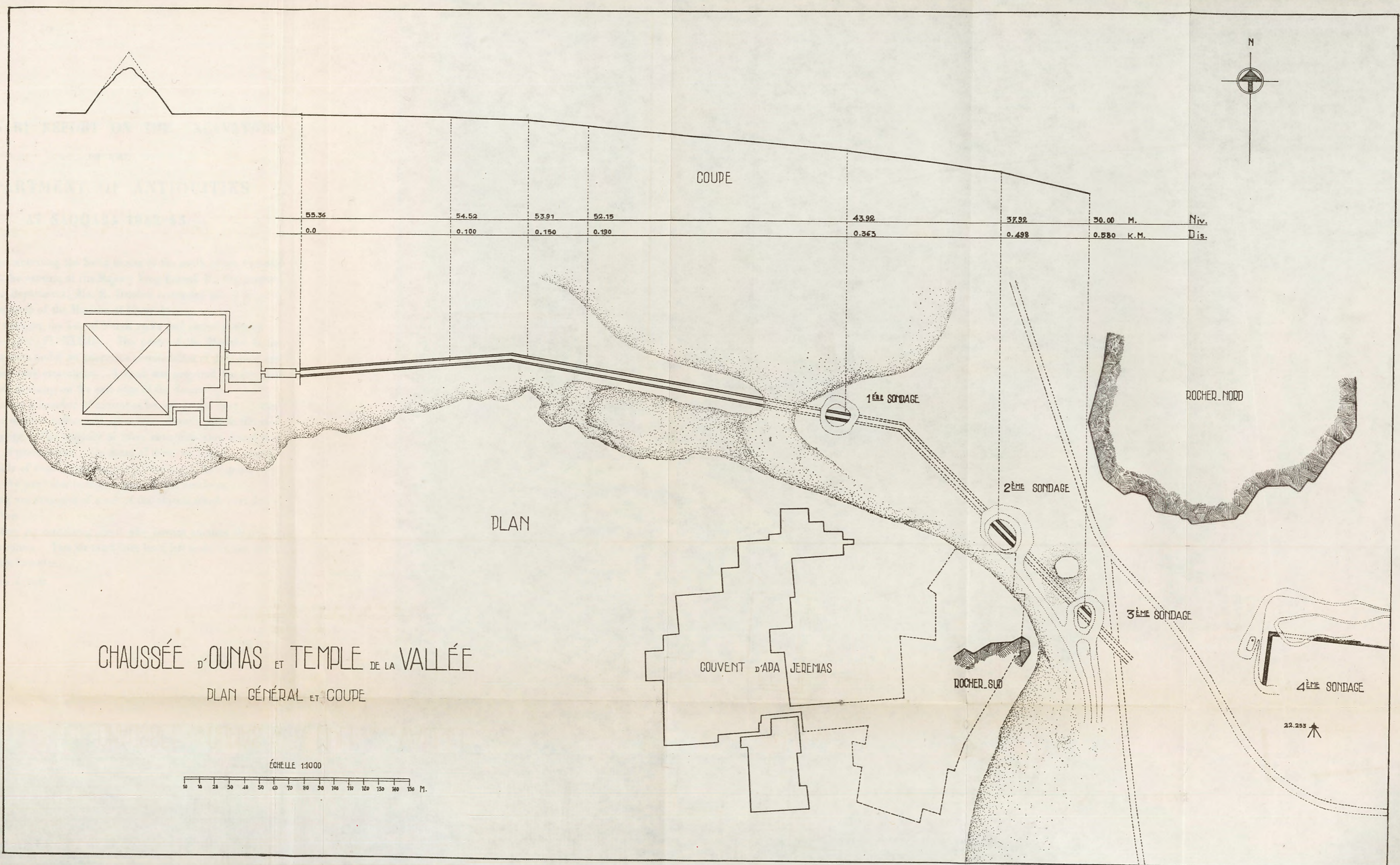
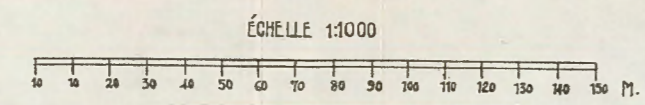
55.36	54.52	53.91	52.15	43.92	37.92	30.00	M.	Niv.
0.0	0.100	0.150	0.190	0.365	0.498	0.580	K.M.	Dis.

COUPE

PLAN

# CHAUSSÉE D'OUNAS ET TEMPLE DE LA VALLÉE

PLAN GÉNÉRAL ET COUPE



COUVENT d'ADA JEREMIAS

ROCHER\_SUD

ROCHER\_NORD

1<sup>ÈME</sup> SONDAGE

2<sup>ÈME</sup> SONDAGE

3<sup>ÈME</sup> SONDAGE

4<sup>ÈME</sup> SONDAGE

22.255

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS  
OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES  
AT SAQQARA 1942-43.

While I was excavating the Saitic tombs to the south of the Pyramid of User-Kaf at the expense of His Majesty King Farouk I<sup>st</sup>, the Director General of the Department, Mr. E. Drioton instructed me to excavate the area to the north of the Mastaba of Mereruka.

We started work on the 1st. of March 1942 and closed down on the 23rd. of May 1942 (Pl. XXXIII). The parts of the Mastaba to the north and west were under an enormous accumulation of drift sand and dumps from previous excavations. A road was prepared for the rails of the Decauville to dump on the east edge of the desert.

We came across a number of mummies buried in the sand. Some were buried in wooden coffins and some were directly put in the sand in their wrappings. The majority of these mummies were found in a very bad state of preservation. On some of them we found a quantity of different kinds of beads, amulets, rings, ear-rings, kohl-pots, vases and scarabs. We were able to restore some of the necklaces.

The following are examples of some of the objects which were found loose in the debris :

1. One pottery jar containing about 250 faience amulets shaped to the different divinities. This jar must have been left aside by one of the robbers and was forgotten.

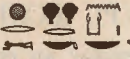
2. A fine wooden head-rest of a new type. It could be lowered down and raised up easily. The wood is in a very good state of preservation (Pl. XXXIV, A).

3. A very well carved wooden foot of a bed or a leg of a chair. It represents a lion devouring a foreigner. Both the lion and the man are represented in full detail (Pl. XXXIV, B).

4. Three model boats of different sizes made of wood. One was found with some oars (Pl. XXXIV, C).

5. A number of limestone fragments which were recognised after piecing them together either as false-doors or jambs of false-doors. The piece (Pl. XXXV), is a side jamb on which the colours of the scenes are still visible. The reliefs show a great deal of skill and several curious details. There are four registers :

a) The first on the top contains four tables in two rows one above the other. On the two tables in the first row are placed the seven vases of the sacred oils and two circular bags which are tied at the mouth, and most probably contain incense or perfumes. On the two tables below are arranged necklaces and bracelets of different kinds.

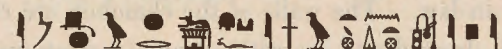
b) The second register shows from right to left a man trying to throw down a bull. Above the bull and just in front of the man's face is the following text from right to left : (←)  fall down upon thy face for the ka of my master. After this comes a man carrying a calf on his shoulders and a vase hanging on his arm by means of a rope.

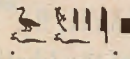
c) The third register represents four offering bearers. The first from the right is a man carrying on his head a bowl and steadying it with his left hand at the rim. He carries three papyrus plants in his right hand. Behind him comes a woman. She carries on her head three rolls of bread on a flat tray which she holds with her left hand. In her right hand she carries a bird by the wings. Following her comes a man who carries on his head a bowl in the same manner as the first man but according to a convention which is not generally employed in such cases the bowl is shown in section in order to allow its contents, a long-necked bottle and two small sealed amphorae, to be seen. His right hand is raised up behind him and in it he carries a cup from which emerge lotus flowers and buds. After him comes a woman carrying a basket of a

shape still used to this day in the country. She holds it with her left hand and from the same arm hangs a cage. In her right hand she holds by a lead a small calf that walks by her side. In the same hand she holds a lotus flower with two buds on both sides.

Usually, the offering bearers represented on the walls of the mastabas are one sex. But here, the artist represents both sexes, most probably for lack of space, in such a fine order as an abbreviation of a big scene of this kind.

d) The fourth register begins with a horizontal line of inscription from left to right : →



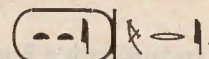
Below is a scene which is unknown in the representations of the Old Kingdom. In the middle is an offering table with one goose placed on top of the reeds. To the right, the master (owner of the tomb) is standing, his right hand raised up before his face while his left hand is down by his side holding a handkerchief. On the other side of the table, to the left, a man is represented standing and offering a goose which he is holding with both hands while at his feet is a goose falling on the ground with the head downwards. In front of his face is an inscription from right to left : ←  His son, his beloved Ipi. The only interpretation of this scene is as follows : The owner of the tomb stands in front of the table, while his son on the other side gives offerings to his father. The father, who is the owner of the tomb is either thanking or praising his son for what he is doing or telling him to stop giving more offerings. I have not previously encountered a scene of this type in the Old Kingdom and specially in Saqqarah, either in the tombs discovered by other Egyptologists or in the tombs which I have excavated.

When the north west part of the Mastaba of Mereruka was cleared, the north and west walls of the corner of the Mastaba were found inscribed with the title and name of the owner in large hieroglyphs. When the whole north wall of the Mastaba was also cleared it was found joined with the north wall of the mastaba of Kagemni (Pl. XXXVI). The masonry of both mastabas is bonded together at the ends in such a way that shows us that these two big mastabas were built at one time.



At the end of both, the names of each owner are inscribed in large incised hieroglyphs as well as on the other corners which were previously discovered (Pl. XXXVI).

Clearing the interior of the north-west part of the mastaba revealed the shaft leading down to the burial chamber of the son of the wife of Mereruka. In the burial chamber we found a limestone sarcophagus which was thoroughly plundered. The name of the owner was roughly

inscribed on the sarcophagus : . The position of this burial chamber is exactly behind the false-door in the Mastaba of Mereruka, his father-in-law. The walls of the chamber are cut in the rock; they are not well dressed and are without any inscriptions.

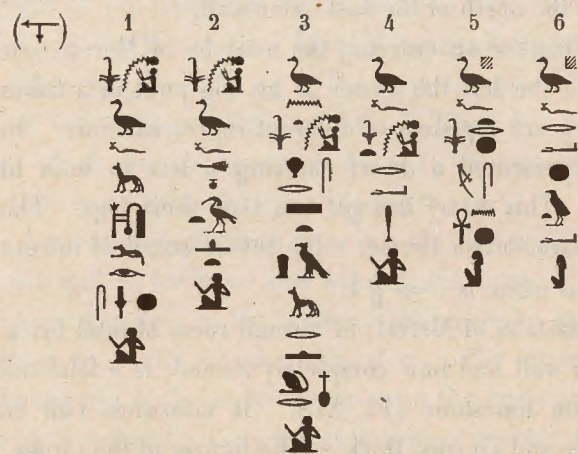
To the west of the Mastaba of Mereruka, we came across a number of mastabas built with mud bricks, which seem to date to the fifth Dynasty. In one of them, the place of the false-door was found empty. The false-door which was made of wood according to the traces of the designs had been removed (Pl. XXXVII, B). The wooden false-door which was found at Saqqara and is now in the Museum is of the same design (*Annales du Serv. des Antiq.*, t. XL, p. 675). The pavement under the false-door is of slabs of white limestone. In front one can see two libation basins sunk in the stone pavement (Pl. XXXVII, B). This is an architectural device which is perhaps the origin of the libation tables with two basins which are placed in front of the false-doors. Not far away from this, a mud brick mastaba of an enormous size is in a good state of preservation (Pl. XXXVII, A). According to the shape and the position of the chapels on the north and south sides in the east wall, it can be dated to the fourth Dynasty. In the south chapel there are marks which show the place of a very big wooden false-door which was removed. The only piece of wood left in this mastaba is the upper lintel of the door leading to the south chapel. It is a big beam on which some of the hieroglyphic signs still exist. These signs were very carefully cut in the wood and although they are few they testify to the high quality of the carving of this period.



Near this mastaba, we found a stone false-door, standing curiously alone by itself between the ruins of mud brick mastabas (Pl. XXXVIII, A).

It measures 280 cms. high and 80 cms. wide. Only the middle part is inscribed. The inscriptions on this false-door are of a very curious nature. They show that the owner did not believe in the well known formulæ usually inscribed on the other false-doors. There is one horizontal line of inscription from right to left :



Below this line there are six vertical lines the work of which is quite different from that of the above mentioned line. These inscriptions must have been added afterwards.



The four lines from right to left are for the owner's four sons who were all given the same title  "Royal priest". The fifth line is for his daughter who bore the title  "The relative (or acquaintance) of the king". It is probable that she was a half-sister borne by a royal mother. The sixth line is for a second daughter but without the title which her sister had.

To the north of the Mastaba of Mereruka we found a group of small mastabas (Pl. XXXVIII, B). Some were completely built with stone, some with mud bricks and the facade only encased with stone, and some with mud bricks and roofed with a mud brick vault.

1. — MASTABA OF MERERI.



This mastaba is completely built with stone. Some of the walls are still at their original height. The scenes on the walls and the inscriptions are very accurately cut in relief. The lintel and both sides of the door are all covered with incised inscriptions and figures of the owner Mereri (Pl. XXXIX, A). In this mastaba were put two false-doors, each made of one block of white limestone: one in the inner north chamber and the other in the north of the east outer wall.

In the first chamber on entering the mastaba of Mereri, one sees on the south wall to the left the owner in his big punt in a fishing scene. Behind his figure are registers of different representations. In the last one below is represented a dwarf carrying a box in both his hands (Pl. XXXIX, B). This dwarf has got two very short legs. This feature makes a quite characteristic theme. His title is inscribed in front of him:

and his name is:

Outside the mastaba of Mereri, in a small room of mud brick built up against its south wall and now completely ruined, is a false-door which is made of white limestone (Pl. XL). It measures 103 cms. high and 50 cms. wide and 10 cms. thick. The figures of the owner, the lady Nebet, are represented in different places of the false-door in positions and representations quite different from the other false-doors. To the right and left of the panel, for example, the owner is represented in a standing attitude and holding a lotus flower in her hand as if smelling it. At the bottom of the vertical lines of inscriptions we usually find the representations of the owner standing, smelling the lotus flowers which she holds in her hand but here she is represented standing on both sides of the curtain slit holding in her hand an object, rectangular in shape, its handle being in the form of a lotus stem, with three flowers. On her arm hangs a basket. In the other hand behind her she carries a smaller but similar basket. The owner is represented also in the head dress of the nobility and she had the title: Her little name is:

2. — MASTABA OF UR-NENUU.



This mastaba is built with mud bricks except a narrow rectangular room built with white limestone in which the false-door was placed (Pl. XLI). The inscriptions and representations are carefully cut, some in high relief while others are incised. On both the jambs of the false-door there are seven figures of men each carrying one of the seven different vases of the oils, in a kneeling position with their faces towards the false-door. To the right of the false-door there are five vertical lines (Pl. XLII, B). To the left are also five vertical lines of the same nature as the inscriptions on the right (Pl. XLII, A). The work of both of these inscriptions shows that the artist was not the same. There are very curious signs and titles which are not known to us. At the bottom of the five lines on both sides is a horizontal line of inscriptions.

At the bottom of both these texts is a big figure of the owner who is holding his staff in his hand and wearing the dress of a priest. Some of the scenes depicted on the walls of this mastaba are not frequently met with on the walls of other mastabas. The absence of oxen and small calves is one of the curious features in the representations.

At the north end of the western wall the upper register depicts two offering bearers and behind them are some desert scenes. In the register below, the man in the middle is carrying on his shoulder a stick at the top of which is tied an object like a water-skin? It is an animal skin without the neck. The legs are tied by a rope to the top of the stick (Pl. XLIII).

3. — MASTABA OF KHUI.



This mastaba is to the north of that of *Ur-nenuu* and built with mud bricks. The door-way, the lintel and both sides are all encased with white limestone (Pl. XLIV).

On the lintel four figures of the owner are represented in standing attitude, two on the right facing west and two on the left facing east. In front of each are two vertical lines of inscriptions. The owner is represented on both sides of the door-way in big figures with different wigs and dresses.

On the inner jambs of the door-way is the large figure of the owner. On the right jamb are inscribed vertical lines in which the deceased asks the living to give offerings to his Ka (soul). On the left there are vertical lines of inscriptions in which he threatens any one who does him any harm.

From the door-way one enters a rectangular chamber at the end of which there is another door leading to an inner chamber which is like the first. In the second chamber there is a false-door made of white limestone. It bears the name and titles of the owner with the usual formulae. These chambers were originally roofed with mud brick vaults. The walls were plastered with mud and white-washed. Nothing is left of the colours and representations with which the walls were covered.

4. — MASTABA OF SMEDENTI(?).

This mastaba was built with mud bricks. One wall between the first chamber and that in which the false-door was put is only in existence. In it is the communicating door which is very interesting from the architectural point of view. It is arched and one can notice the mud plastering which is in a good state of preservation. Few traces of colours are still kept on the mud white-washed plaster (Pl. XLV).

In the other chamber, to the west we found the false-door (Pl. XLVI). It is of white limestone and painted in imitation of dark granite. The inscriptions are cut deep in the stone and coloured with a yellow shade to imitate gold. It measures 260 cms. high and 170 cms. wide. The name of the owner is the only part damaged. This act was most probably done by some enemies who had a grudge against him and wanted to efface his name.

On the lintel we do not see the usual formula which is always written on the false-doors but we find instead two lines of inscriptions from right to left :



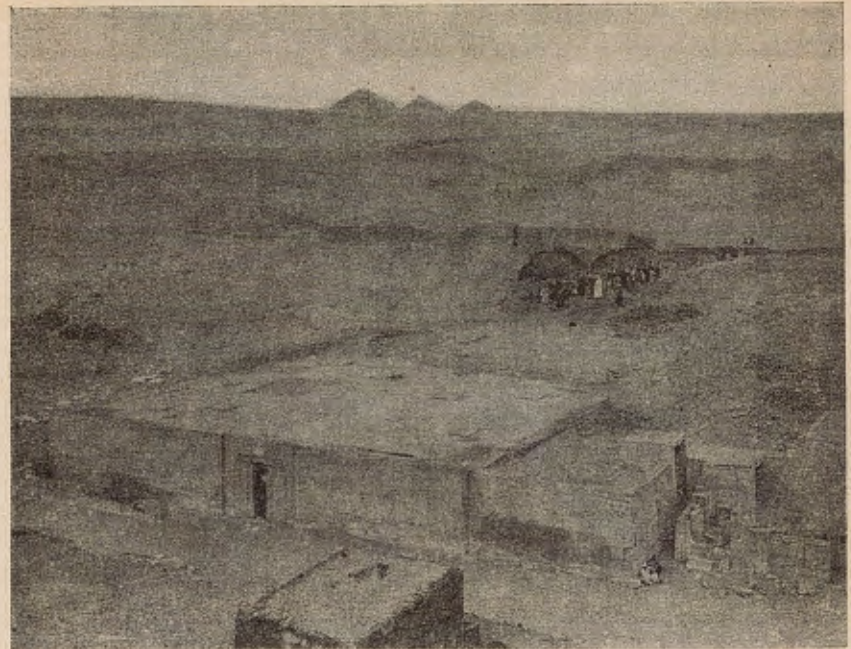
Below the panel we also see two horizontal lines in the same nature of the two previous inscriptions :



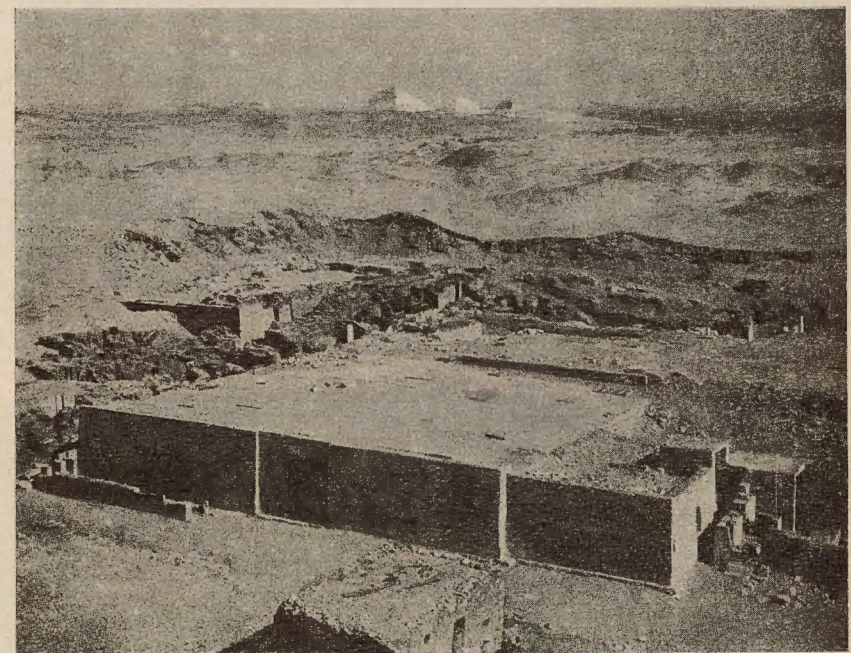
The three lines below the upper lintel on each side are written vertically and also the two lines below the lower lintel on each side. These are the usual formulæ found on similar false-doors.

ZAKI Y. SAAD.

Saqqara 8-3-1943.



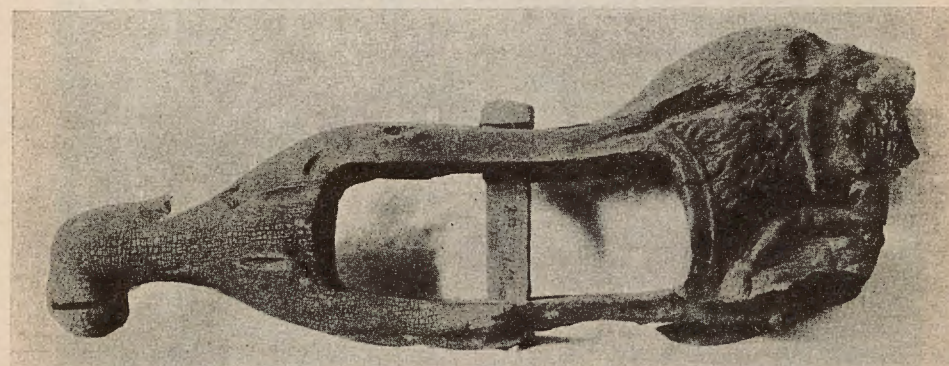
A. — Tomb of Mereruka and the north-west site at the beginning of excavations.



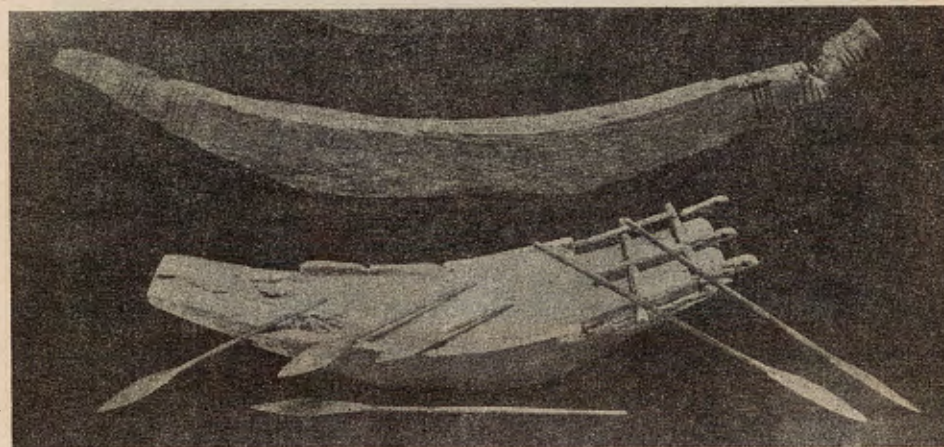
B. — Tomb of Mereruka and the north-west site where work was stopped.



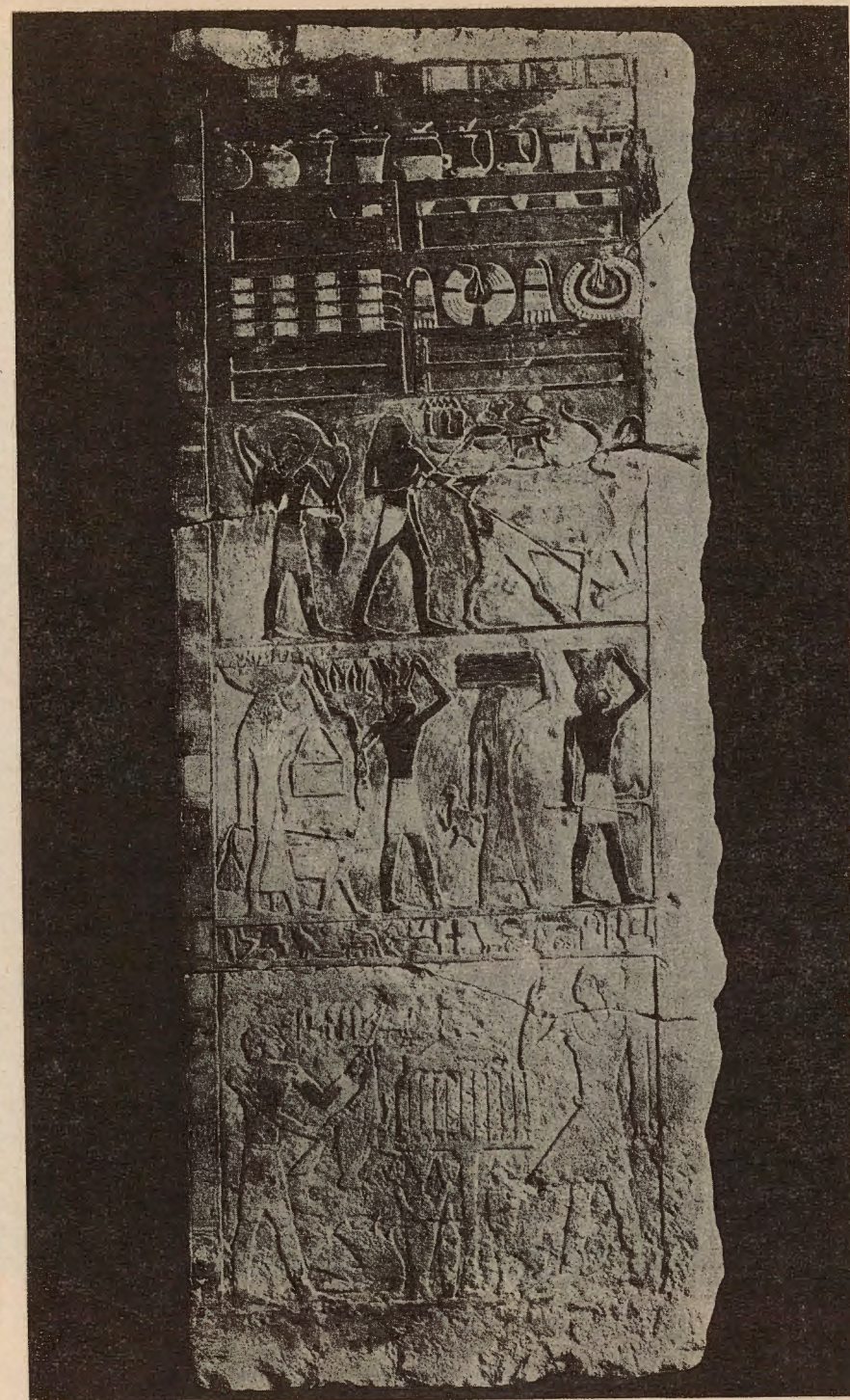
A. — Head-rest in wood.



B. — Piece of furniture.



C. — Model boats.



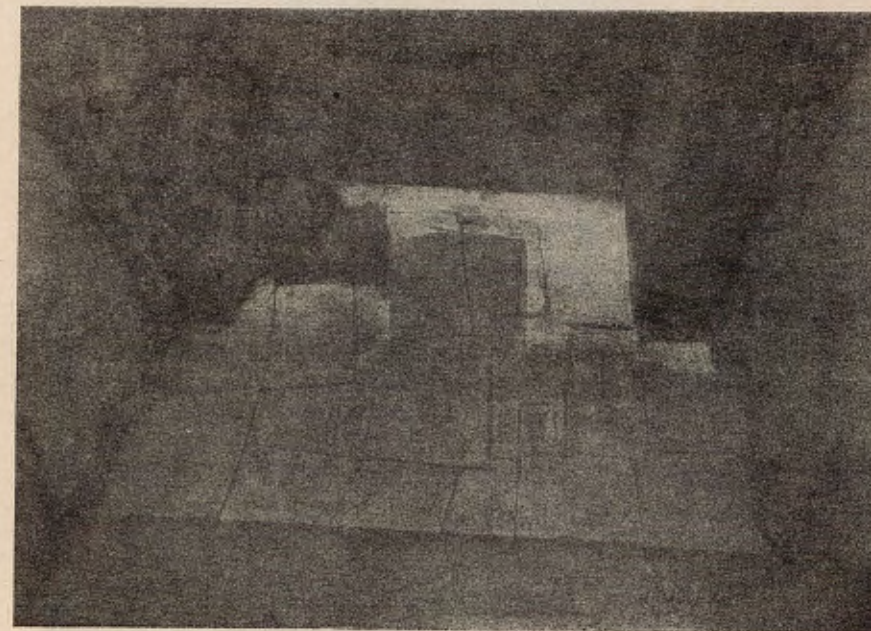
False door side jamb.



Joint of the mastabas of Kagemni and Mereruka.

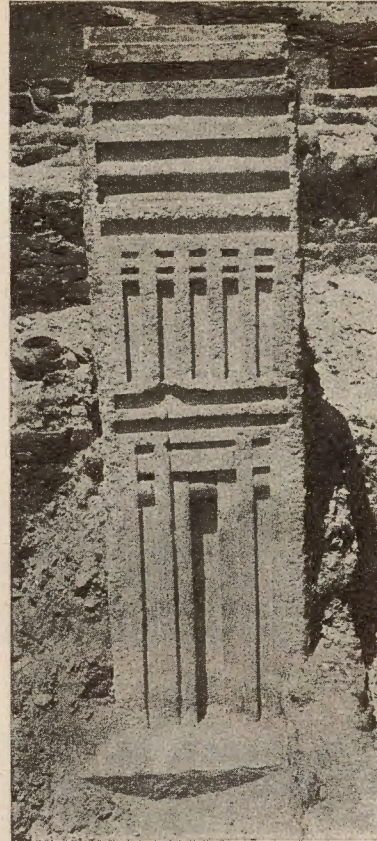


A. — Mastaba of mud bricks.

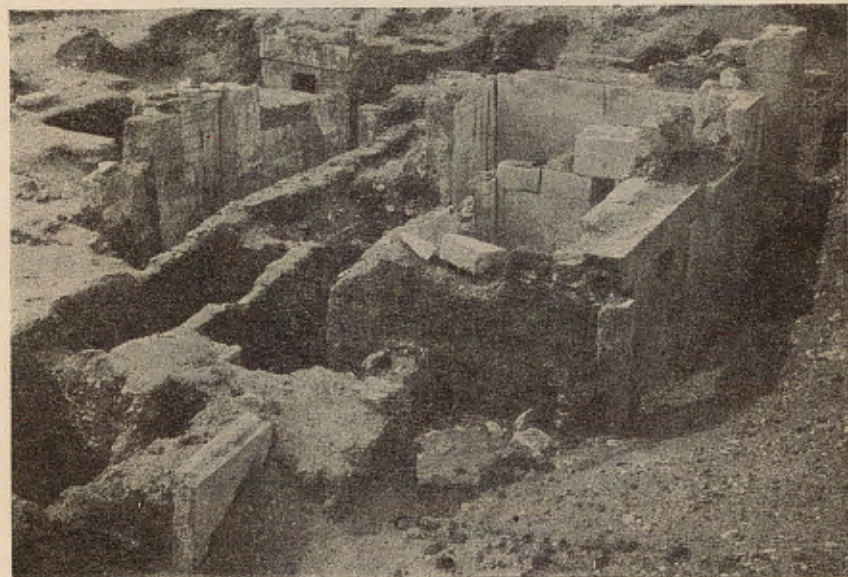


B. — Two libation basins in the pavement.





A. — Stela of Peh-er-nefer.



B. — Group of mastabas to the north of Mereruka.



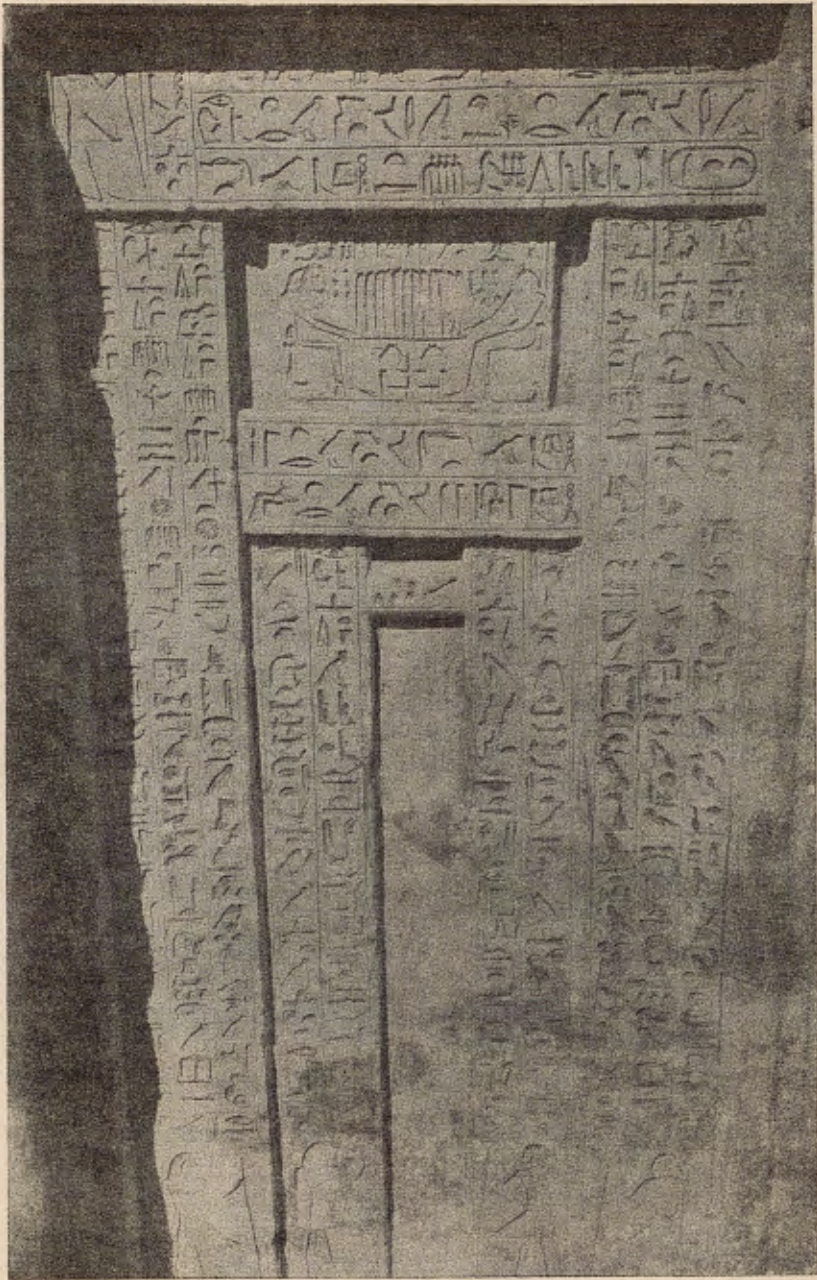
A. — Entrance to the chapel of Mereri's mastaba.



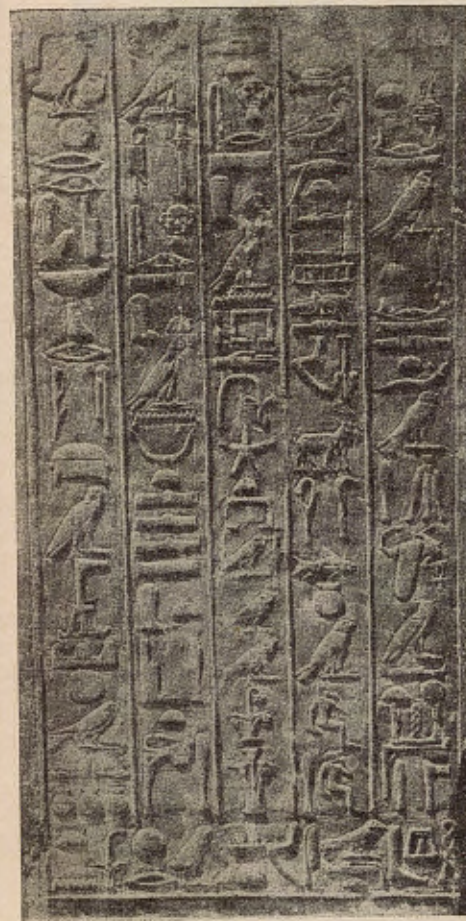
B. — Dwarf in the mastaba of Mereri.



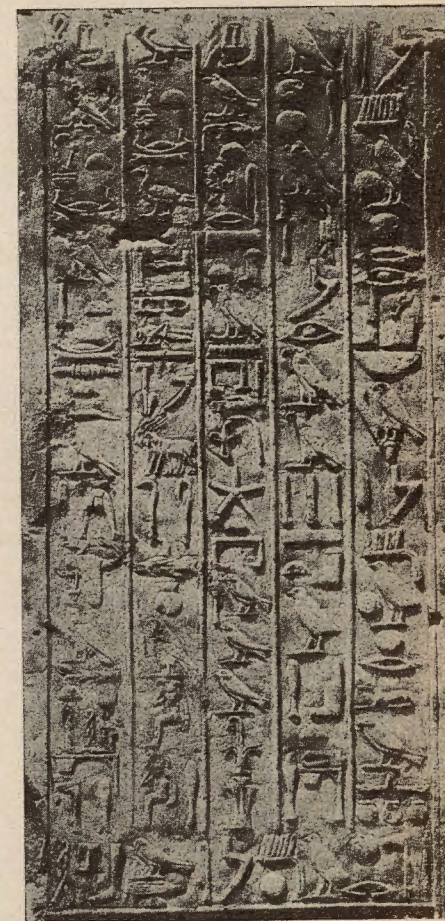
Stela of Nebet.



Stela of Ur-nenuu.



A.

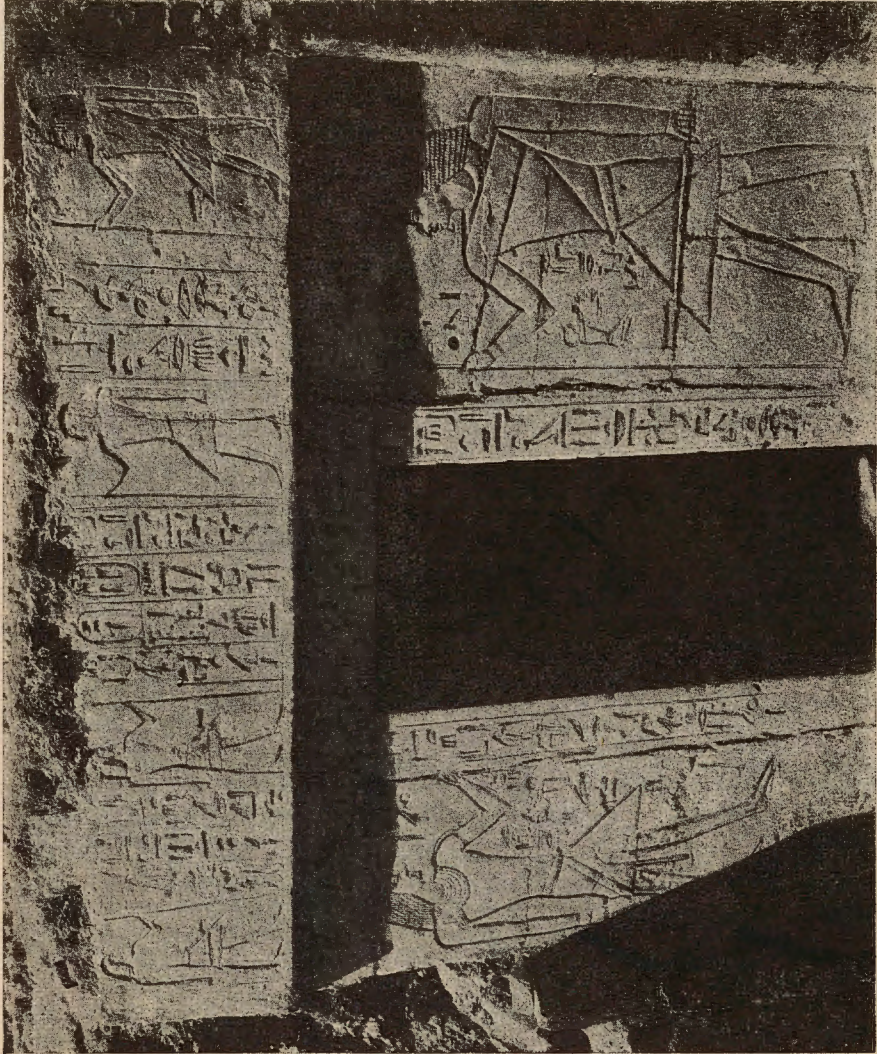


B.

Inscriptions to the right and left of the false-door of Ur-nenuu.



The man in the middle of the 2nd register carries water-skin ?

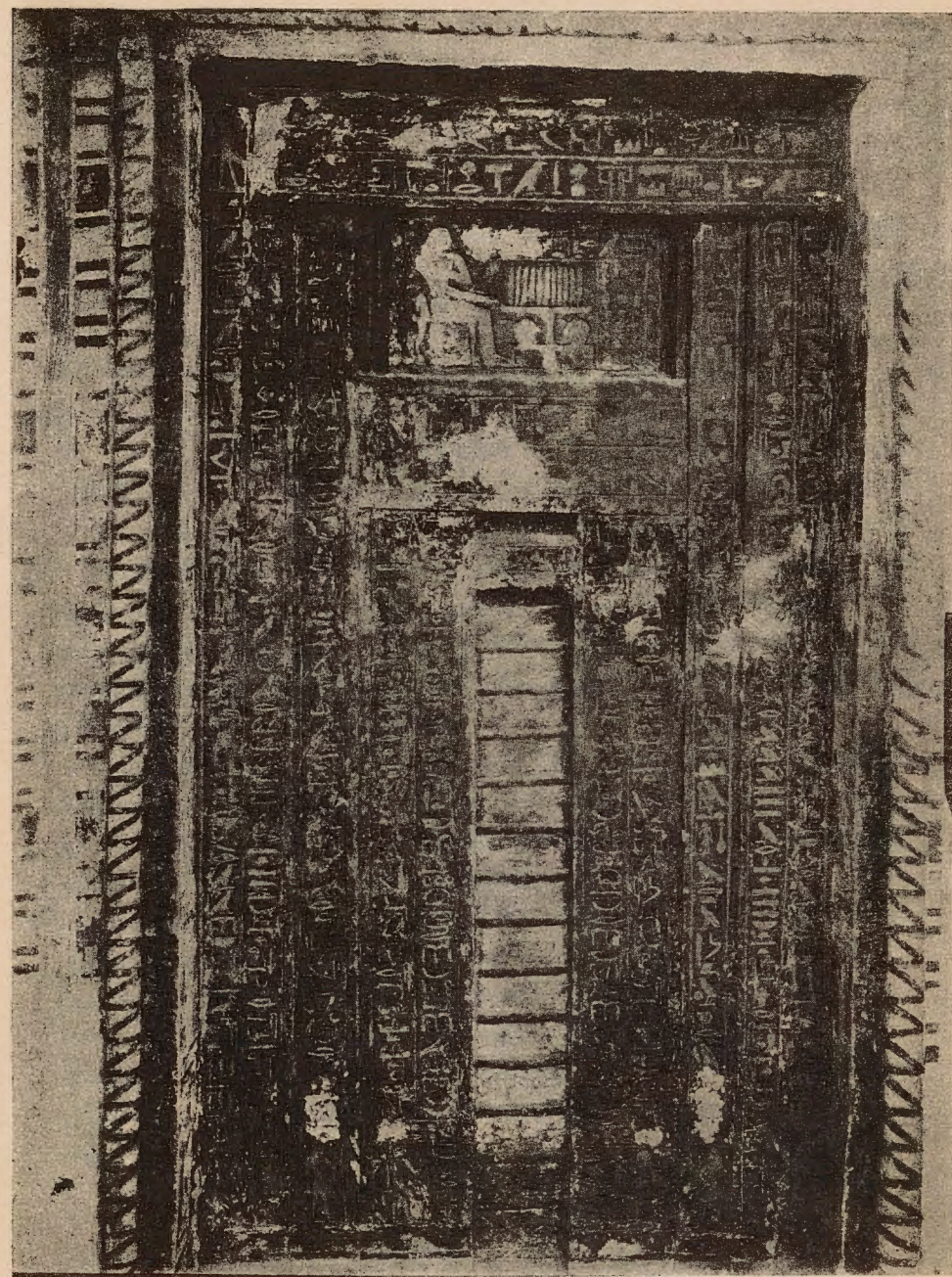


Entrance of the mastaba of Khui.



Arched door in the chapel of Smedenti (?)





Stela of Smedenti (?).

DESCRIPTION SOMMAIRE  
DES  
CHAPELLES FUNÉRAIRES DE LA VI<sup>e</sup> DYNASTIE  
RÉCEMMENT DÉCOUVERTES  
DERRIÈRE LE MASTABA DE MÉRÉROUKA  
À SAKKARAH.

Les fouilles de la campagne 1942-43 à Sakkarah, dirigées par Zaki Y. Saad Eff.<sup>(1)</sup>, ont montré qu'un angle formé par de grands mastabas de briques crues, à l'ouest, et le mur de fond du mastaba de Mérérouka, au sud, avait été occupé, sous la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, par des tombes de moindre importance, quelques-unes en pierre, la plupart en briques crues, certaines utilisant les deux matériaux.

Le mastaba de Méri, situé à l'est de ce quartier, en est le monument le plus important, et sans doute le plus ancien. Deux rues en partent, la «rue du Nord» et la «ruelle du Sud», sur lesquelles s'ouvrent les entrées des chapelles des tombes secondaires.

Le plan que nous publions (pl. XLVII) n'est qu'un croquis provisoire, destiné à fournir une idée de la position respective des ces chapelles et à en faciliter la description<sup>(2)</sup>. Les dernières fouilles n'ayant encore dégagé le site qu'en surface, une autre campagne sera nécessaire pour explorer le sous-sol et déterminer avec exactitude la structure des tombes qui se pressent et s'enchevêtrent sur ce terrain.

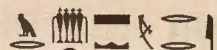
<sup>(1)</sup> Voir plus haut, p. 449-457, ZAKI Y. SAAD, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saggara, 1942-43.*

<sup>(2)</sup> En ce qui concerne les éléments

des titulatures, je suis redevable à M. Bernhard Grds loff de plusieurs suggestions et références bibliographiques précieuses, dont je le remercie.



Horizontalement, au bas des deux colonnes de texte : (↔)



c) Montant extérieur de droite : (↔)

Même texte, sauf les variantes :

Col. 1. à la place de

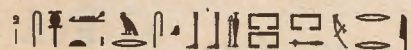
Col. 2. intercalé après

d) Tableau.

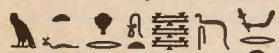
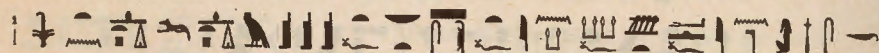
Méréri est représenté assis devant l'autel , deux verseuses et un support contenant quatre aiguères . Son nom a été intentionnellement mutilé. Au-dessus : (↔)



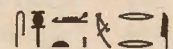
e) Deuxième linteau : (↔)



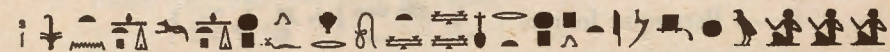
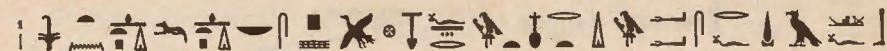
f) Montant intérieur de gauche : (↔)



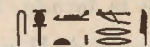
Horizontalement, au bas des deux colonnes de texte : (↔)



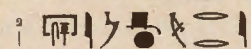
g) Montant intérieur de droite : (↔)



Horizontalement, au bas des deux colonnes de texte : (↔)



h) Sur le cylindre : (↔)



En bas de chacun des quatre montants, Méréri est représenté debout, la canne à la main, se dirigeant vers le passage de la porte. Le visage des quatre personnages a été martelé et tout le bas de la stèle recouvert d'une couche de plâtre.

Les parois verticales de l'ébrasement de la niche contenant la stèle sont divisées en quatre registres superposés, occupés chacun par l'image de Méréri se dirigeant, la canne à la main, vers l'extérieur. Ces figures ne diffèrent que par la perruque, qui est longue ou ronde, et par la légende qui les accompagne. Les visages ont été partout martelés, ainsi que le nom de Méréri qui, à certains endroits, a été aussi recouvert de plâtre.

De haut en bas :

A. Ébrasement sud.

1. — Détruit.

2. — Perruque ronde :

3. — Perruque longue :

4. — Perruque ronde :

B. Ébrasement nord.

- 1. — Perruque longue : ...
- 2. — Perruque ronde :
- 3. — Perruque longue :
- 4. — Perruque ronde :

La porte de la chapelle (ZAKI SAAD, *Preliminary Report...*, pl. XXXIX, A) occupe le renforcement sud de la façade. Son linteau porte deux lignes de , et ses montants l'image de Méréri entrant la canne à la main.

Chambre 1. — Paroi sud :

a) <sup>(1)</sup> Chasse au marais.

Méréri, debout sur une nacelle de papyrus, harponne deux gros poissons devant un fourré. Au-dessous de sa prise, dans l'élévation d'eau habituelle à ces représentations, on a superposé cinq poissons d'espèces différentes, comme pour dresser un catalogue. La femme de Méréri est debout à l'avant de la barque. Ses fils et le , nain pied bot particulièrement difforme (ZAKI SAAD, *Preliminary Report...*, p. 454 et pl. XXXIX, B), sont disposés derrière lui en trois registres. Entre le fourré de papyrus, qui occupe le milieu du panneau, et la porte introduisant de l'extérieur, il y a quatre registres de porteurs d'offrandes, ceux du registre inférieur arrivant dans une barque poussée à la gaffe. Une bande peuplée de poissons et d'animaux aquatiques borde le bas du panneau d'un bout à l'autre.

Paroi ouest (comportant une lucarne de serdab).

b) Panneau divisé en quatre registres. De haut en bas :

1° Nourriture de bovidés à l'étable ( ) par des bouviers, dont un (sic).

<sup>(1)</sup> Les indications de ce genre renvoient aux lettres portées sur le plan.

2° Gavage de volailles.

3° Serviteurs conduisant des groupes de volailles :

4° Basse-cour avec portique et bassin.

c) Quatre registres contenant chacun un personnage se dirigeant vers la porte de la chambre 2. De haut en bas : et .

Paroi nord.

d) Le dos tourné à la porte de la chambre 3, Méréri, coiffé d'une perruque ronde et revêtu de la peau de léopard, reçoit, en compagnie de ses deux fils, des porteurs d'offrandes répartis sur quatre registres.

e) Au-dessus de la porte de la chambre 3 :

Registre supérieur : boucs et chèvres dévorant le feuillage des arbres d'un verger.

Registre inférieur : préparation du poisson séché.

Paroi est.

f) Le dos tourné à la porte de la chambre 3, Méréri accueille des porteurs d'offrandes répartis sur six registres. Son fils aîné est figuré en petite taille devant lui.

Chambre 2. — Il n'en reste que le soubassement des parois, non décoré.

Chambre 3. — Paroi ouest.

g) Stèle fausse-porte en calcaire, du type courant. Le bas, comportant les images de Méréri, ses titres et son nom, a été recouvert de plâtre.

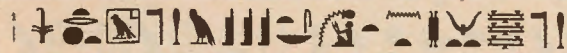
Les y sont ainsi répartis :

Sur le premier linteau :

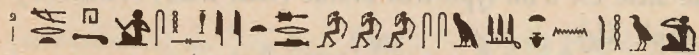




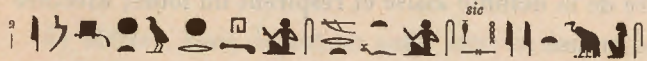
Sur les montants intérieurs, la première colonne est identique à gauche et à droite :



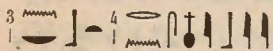
Ensuite, à gauche : (⌣)



à droite : (⌣)



puis des deux côtés, horizontalement :



Le bas des montants extérieurs est occupé par une image de la défunte debout, respirant un lotus, en relief dans le creux; celui des montants intérieurs par une figure en relief sur fond creusé : Nebet debout portant deux paniers de provisions.

Le cylindre n'a pas reçu d'inscription.

B. — CHAPELLE D'OURNENOUOU



(ZAKI Y. SAAD, Preliminary Report..., p. 455).

Titres :



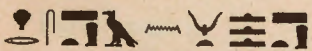
Bénéficiaire de la pyramide de Têti



Introduceur des grands du Sud et du Nord



Introduceur des compagnons d'Horus



Initié aux secrets des missions secrètes



Surveillant les affaires secrètes



Initié aux secrets de la maison du matin



Cérémoniaire fumigateur



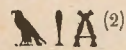
Scribe des livres divins



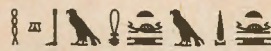
Prêtre d'Horus d'Héraconpolis



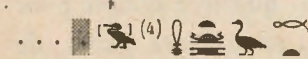
Prêtre des deux enfants d'Horus<sup>(1)</sup>



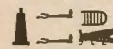
Prêtre d'Horus d'Edfou



Cérémoniaire de la barque-mit d'Horus et de la barque-d'it d'Horus<sup>(2)</sup>



..... de la barque-mit de..., fils de Mehet<sup>(3)</sup>



Support de.....



Réunissant les deux.....



Père de Min



Prêtre de Hekaou



Protection du Prince



.....<sup>(6)</sup>



Prêtre de...<sup>(9)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Sur ce titre, cf. KEES, *Die beiden Kinder des Horus im Kult von Hierakonpolis*, dans la *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache...*, LXIV (1929), p. 100-102.

<sup>(2)</sup> Le signe a trois jambages au lieu de deux.

<sup>(3)</sup> Même titre dans QUIBELL, *Sur une nécropole de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie à Koçeir El-Amarna*, dans les *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, III (1902), p. 251 (à rectifier légèrement).

<sup>(4)</sup> La tête de l'oiseau est mutilée, mais la cambrure du cou n'est pas celle de ⌣, bien que le corps soit à peu

près semblable.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. JUNKER, *Giza*, II, Vienne 1934, p. 162 : ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ ⌣.

<sup>(6)</sup> Les deux chèvres sont superposées en échelonnement.

<sup>(7)</sup> La boucle de ⌣ porte une oreillette de chaque côté, comme ⌣.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-1907), Le Caire 1908, pl. IX, n° 4.

<sup>(9)</sup> Cf. MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 271; JÉQUIER, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, Le Caire 1928, p. 22, fig. 28.

!!

Prêtre d'Isis

(1)

Curateur de Selkis(?)

Son fils aîné :

Titre :

Bénéficiaire du palais

La chapelle d'Ournenouou s'ouvre sur la rue du Nord. Elle est logée contre la face postérieure du mastaba de Méréri, qu'elle a utilisée pour sa paroi de l'est. Elle est parée intérieurement, en majeure partie, de calcaire blanc finement sculpté.

Passage d'entrée. — a) Sur la paroi est, Ournenouou est représenté sortant de la chapelle, la canne à la main. Il est sans perruque et vêtu d'un long pagne triangulaire, qui lui descend jusqu'à mi-mollet. Son visage a été mutilé.

Chapelle. — Paroi ouest.

b) Une stèle fausse-porte en calcaire (ZAKI SAAD, Preliminary Report..., pl. XLI) est logée dans un renforcement au centre de la paroi.

Sur le linteau, trois lignes d'inscriptions aboutissent, à gauche, à une représentation d'Ournenouou debout, le bâton à la main : (←)

(verticalement)

Sur les montants extérieurs de gauche : (←)

(1) Le scorpion n'a pas de support, mais il étend vers le bas une sorte d'aile. Il tient passé dans sa patte un

objet qui, dans l'inscription de gauche, est un signe et dans celle de droite un signe

Horizontalement : (←)

Sur les montants extérieurs de droite, mêmes inscriptions sur les deux premières colonnes, puis : (←)

Le tableau de la fausse-porte montre Ournenouou assis à gauche ( et à droite ( d'un autel

Sur le deuxième linteau : (←)

Sur le cylindre : (←)

Sur les montants intérieurs, une même inscription en deux colonnes est répétée à gauche et à droite, à d'insignifiantes variantes près :

(horizontalement)

Quatre représentations d'Ournenouou, se dirigeant la canne à la main vers l'ouverture de la porte, sont sculptées dans le bas de la stèle. Elles ont toutes une écharpe en travers de la poitrine.

Dans le renforcement qui contient la stèle, les parois verticales de l'ébrasement sont divisées en sept registres. Chacun d'entre eux contient un personnage agenouillé qui tient un grand vase à parfum



direction de la fausse-porte. Le nom d'une des sept huiles du rituel est inscrit dans chaque registre.

c) et d) De chaque côté de la stèle (fig. 67), grande liste de titres, sculptée en relief (ZAKI SAAD, *Preliminary Report...*, p. 455 et pl. XLII, A et B).

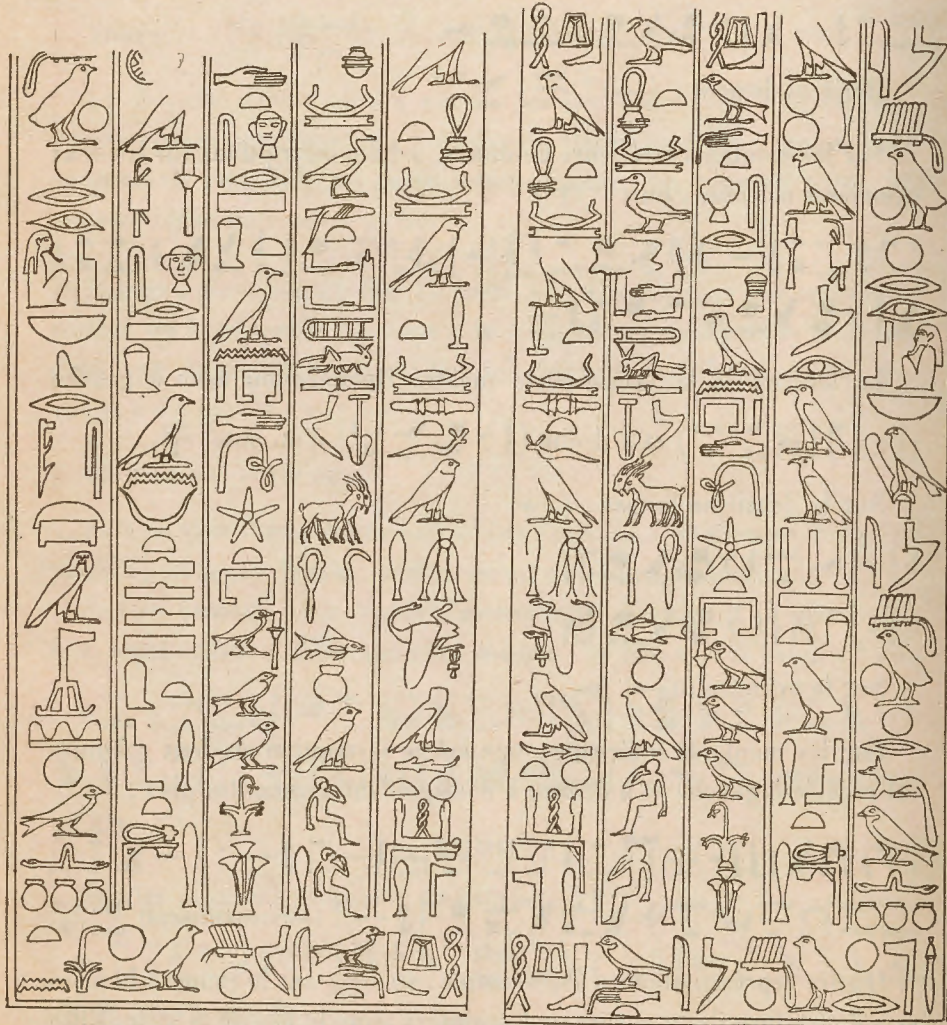


Fig. 67.

e) Entre la stèle et la porte d'entrée, apport d'animaux (ZAKI SAAD, *Preliminary Report...*, p. 455 et pl. XLIII). Il ne reste plus que les trois registres inférieurs de cette paroi.

Au premier registre, en haut, on aperçoit encore les jambes d'Ournouou, en taille héroïque. Deux serviteurs lui apportent de petites gazelles, qu'ils viennent de capturer au désert, comme le suggèrent les thèmes figurés derrière eux, empruntés à l'imagerie du désert.

Le second registre est meublé par un défilé de gazelles (𓆎𓆏𓆐, 𓆎𓆏𓆑) plus ou moins domestiquées. La première (𓆎𓆏𓆑), en effet, est rétive et son gardien (𓆒𓆓𓆔) doit, pour la faire avancer, la tirer par les cornes et par une patte. Certains gardiens portent de petites outres suspendues à des bâtons : c'est une partie de leur équipement pour leurs courses dans le désert. Légende : 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑 𓆎𓆏𓆑.

Le troisième registre montre la suite du même défilé, avec un porteur de deux hérissons dans des cages. Il s'agit sans doute d'animaux capturés au cours d'une chasse aux gazelles. Légende : 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑 𓆎𓆏𓆑.

f) Entre la stèle et le mur sud de la chapelle, il reste les deux registres inférieurs de la paroi ouest. Ils sont remplis l'un et l'autre par des apports d'offrandes à des statues d'Ournouou placées dans des naos aux portes ouvertes. Les officiants sont, en haut, des 𓆒𓆓𓆔; en bas : 𓆒𓆓𓆔, 𓆒𓆓𓆔, 𓆒𓆓𓆔.

g) La paroi est était occupée dans toute sa longueur par une chasse aux marais dont il ne subsiste plus que la ligne d'eau, peuplée de lotus, de poissons et d'animaux aquatiques. Au-dessous, les représentations du registre inférieur se divisent en deux groupes :


h) Au nord, quatre bateaux, poussés à la gaffe, sont remplis de gens apportant des bestiaux, des volailles et divers objets;

i) Au sud, on trouve trois épisodes de l'abat du taureau, avec les légendes :

- (→) 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑 𓆎𓆏𓆑
- (→) 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑
- (→) 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑 𓆎𓆏𓆑
- (→) 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑 𓆎𓆏𓆑
- (→) 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑 𓆎𓆏𓆑
- (→) 𓆒𓆓𓆔 𓆎𓆏𓆑 𓆎𓆏𓆑







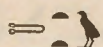

A hauteur de sa ceinture, un petit personnage agenouillé (←)  découvre une cassolette d'encens.

Les chambres 1 et 2, construites en briques crues, étaient primitivement voûtées. Les parois sont couvertes d'un enduit de limon et ne semblent pas avoir été jamais décorées. Leur seul ornement était une sorte de tore, modelé dans le limon, qui courait autour des murs, à hauteur du départ de la voûte.


La chambre 2 comporte sur sa face ouest :

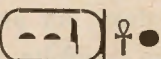
c) Une stèle fausse-porte en calcaire, placée dans un bâti de porte en calcaire sans décoration. La stèle elle-même, d'une hauteur de 1 m. 58, porte sur ses différents éléments les titres du défunt, qualifié de   ou  , sans autres formules religieuses.

D. — CHAPELLE DE THETOUT



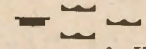
Titres :  noble royal

 Initié aux secrets du roi dans toutes les instructions secrètes aux postes frontières<sup>(1)</sup>

Son fils : 

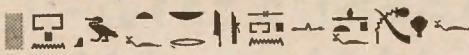
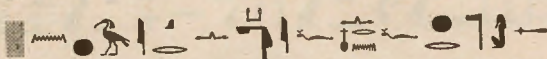
Titre :  Cérémoniaire fumigateur

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf.  SETHE, *Urkunden des alten Reichs*, p. 257, ligne 16 ;  Id., p. 254, ligne 12. Sur le terme

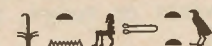
 « porte des pays étrangers », cf. KEES, *Beiträge zur altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung und der Geschichte des Feudalismus*, 1932, p. 95-97.

Cette chapelle en briques crues, située à l'extrémité ouest de la rue du Nord, n'a pas été complètement déblayée. Elle laisse voir à l'intérieur une stèle en calcaire, anépigraphe, encadrée dans la paroi ouest.

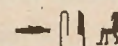
Un seul côté de la façade, celui de l'ouest, a conservé son revêtement de calcaire. On y voit Thetout se dirigeant, la canne à la main, vers l'entrée de son tombeau, précédé par son fils, de petite taille. Il a la poitrine barrée par une écharpe. Devant lui, partie inférieure d'une inscription en trois colonnes : (←)

1 ...   
 2 ...   
 3 ... 

Deux petits obélisques, hauts l'un de 0 m. 48 et l'autre de 0 m. 35, sont scellés contre le bas de la muraille, à chacune des extrémités de cette paroi. Celui de l'ouest porte l'inscription : (←)

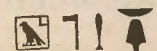



E. — CHAPELLE DE DÉSI




Titres : 

Sa femme : *Nom détruit.*

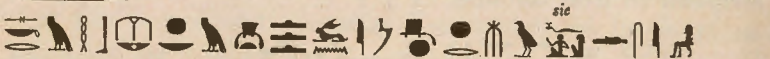
Titre :  Prêtresse d'Hathor, dame du sycamore

Son fils aîné : 

Titres : 

En suivant d'est en ouest la ruelle du Sud, qui longe l'arrière du mastaba de Mérérouka, on rencontre d'abord à droite la chapelle en briques crues de Dési, dont le linteau de la porte extérieure, les seuils de portes et les stèles sont les seuls éléments en calcaire.

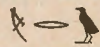
La porte, placée au milieu du retrait de la façade, est basse. Il ne reste du linteau, élevé seulement de 1 m. 37 au-dessus du sol, que l'extrémité gauche encore en place. Un fragment, retrouvé dans les parages de la chapelle de Méréri, la complète et permet de restaurer la moitié de la pièce originale. Dési y était représenté six fois, debout la canne à la main. Au-dessus courait une inscription en trois lignes : (←→)

1° ...   
2° ...   
3° ... 

La chambre 1 est un vestibule transversal voûté, sans décoration. Il est seulement blanchi à la chaux jusqu'à la naissance de la voûte. A cette hauteur une moulure ronde en saillie, décorée en dents de scie à l'imitation d'un tore, tient lieu de frise en haut des parois. La voûte, irrégulièrement construite, est peinte en rouge, avec des mouchetures noir violacé.


La salle 2, orientée du sud au nord, a reçu la même décoration. Deux niches, peintes en rouge comme la voûte, sont ménagées dans sa paroi ouest pour recevoir les stèles fausses-portes. Il ne reste que la partie supérieure de la stèle de Dési dans la niche du sud; quelques fragments de la stèle de sa femme, retrouvés pendant le déblaiement, doivent provenir de la niche du nord.

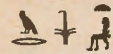
F. — CHAPELLE DE MEROU



Il sera impossible de se prononcer définitivement sur l'attribution de cette chapelle tant qu'un relevé complet de sa décoration, d'ailleurs en mauvais état, n'aura pas été fait. La stèle est bien au nom de Merou, mais, sur les parois, le personnage principal représenté reçoit, quelquefois simultanément, les noms suivants :

1°

Titres : 



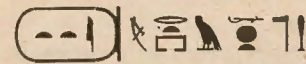
*Intendant des nobles royaux*



*Intendant des bénéficiaires du palais*



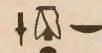
*Intendant des déclarations des bénéficiaires de la pyramide de Têti*



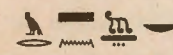
*Curateur des prêtres du temple funéraire de Têti*



*Scribe contrôleur des tissus*



*Titulaire de tout vêtement sacerdotal*



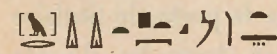
*Intendant de toute la végétation*



*Intendant de la vacherie*




*Intendant de la double chambre fraîche du palais*



*Intendant de ce que le ciel donne et de ce que la terre produit*

2°

Titres : 




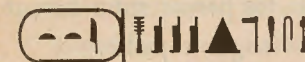
*Intendant des bénéficiaires du palais*



*Intendant des déclarations des bénéficiaires de la pyramide de Têti*

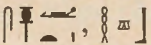
3°

Titres : 



*Inspecteur des prêtres de la pyramide de Têti*

4° 

Titres : 



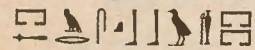
*Bénéficiaire de la pyramide de Téli*



*Intendant des bénéficiaires de la pyramide de Téli*



*Inspecteur des prêtres de la pyramide de Téli*



*Intendant de la double chambre fraîche du palais*



*Initié aux secrets de la maison du matin*

La chapelle de Merou est construite en briques crues, avec une façade, un parement intérieur et un plafond en dalles de calcaire.

Le linteau de la porte d'entrée est détruit.

Sur les parois de la façade, de chaque côté de la porte, le titulaire de la chapelle est sculpté debout, la canne à la main. A gauche, il porte la perruque longue, et il est désigné par les noms de Merou, Téli-seneb et Mériré-seneb; à droite, il est sans perruque, et appelé Merou et Téli-seneb. Cette façade fut trouvée recouverte d'une couche de plâtre.

La chambre 1 est un vestibule carré, décoré sur deux de ses parois :

a) Chasse au marais.

b) Représentation de Merou, fort dégradée, au-dessus de laquelle on distingue un parasol du même type qu'au tombeau d'Ipy, WRESZINSKI, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, I, pl. 405.

La chambre 2 a été aménagée en caveau funéraire lorsque, par la suite, le site se trouva ensablé. Les dalles du plafond furent alors détruites à l'endroit du puits nouveau; une banquette fut construite contre le mur nord et une partie du mur ouest; les parois enfin furent piquetées à la pointe et crépies avec du limon mélangé de paille.

Sur les murs, on distingue encore les thèmes suivants :

c) Pépi-seneb, appuyé sur son bâton, assiste à des scènes maintenant détruites. En bas, tenderie et passage à gué des troupeaux.

d) Pépi-seneb est assis devant une table d'offrandes et un amoncellement de provisions, sous une pancarte de quatre-vingt-seize cases. Au-dessous, douze porteurs de victuailles.

e) Le défunt debout, la canne à la main. Devant lui, en quatre registres, de haut en bas : culture du lin(?), moisson, arrivage des bateaux, dépeçage de taureaux.

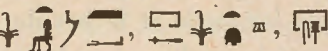
f) Le défunt assis tend la main vers une table d'offrandes. Au-dessous, cinq porteurs de provisions.

g) Stèle fausse-porte au nom de Merou, fortement martelée sur toute sa surface. De chaque côté du tableau, liste des sept huiles canoniques.

#### G. — CHAPELLE DE SMEDENTI(?)

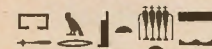


(ZAKI Y. SAAD, *Preliminary Report...*, p. 456)

Titres : 



*Intendant des bénéficiaires*



*Intendant du bureau des bénéficiaires du palais*



*Prêtre de la pyramide de Téli*



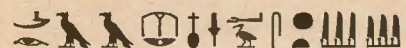
*Intendant de la vacherie*



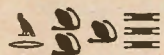
*Intendant du revenu des deux déesses Prairies<sup>(1)</sup>*

<sup>(1)</sup> Sans doute celle du Sud et celle du Nord. Sur cette déesse «Prairie», cf. MONTET, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans*

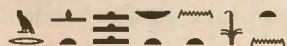
*les tombeaux de l'Ancien Empire*, Strasbourg 1925, p. 6-8.



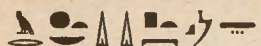
Voyant les beaux gibiers fournis par  
les deux déesses Prairies



Intendant des étangs



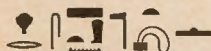
Intendant de tous les revenus du roi



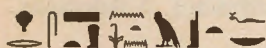
Intendant de toutes les choses que le ciel  
donne et que la terre produit



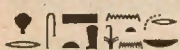
Contrôleur des tissus



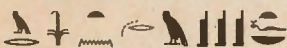
Initié aux secrets du trésor du dieu



Initié aux secrets du roi dans toutes ses  
résidences



Initié aux secrets de tous les repas du  
roi



Intendant des repas du roi dans toutes  
ses résidences

Cette chapelle, construite entièrement en briques crues, avait une façade en calcaire, dont il ne reste que la partie inférieure du côté gauche de la porte. On y remarque les pieds et le bas du bâton d'un personnage debout, avec la partie inférieure d'une inscription :



Dans le passage, (a) homme conduisant un leucoryx.

Le vestibule (chambre 1), dont la voûte est détruite, est entièrement enduit d'un crépi, sur lequel un soubassement est peint en noir. La partie supérieure était ornée de peintures, mais il n'en subsiste de traces reconnaissables que sur le mur nord, à l'ouest de la porte (b) : deux coffres au-dessus desquels sont représentés deux colliers *ousekh* et deux bracelets (ZAKI SAAD, *Preliminary Report...*, pl. XLV).



Une lucarne de serdab, dirigée vers l'est, est ménagée en (c) dans le mur ouest.

La porte qui conduit à la chapelle (chambre 2) est basse et voûtée. Son ouverture est bordée par le même galon à zones alternativement bleues, rouges et jaunes qui sert à encadrer les panneaux peints.

De chaque côté du passage, restes de peintures représentant un apport de bétail.

Les parois de la chambre 2 ont reçu un double crépi : un crépi noir, sur lequel on a étendu un crépi jaune clair, pour exécuter des peintures qui n'y ont laissé que quelques traces.

La stèle fausse-porte (ZAKI SAAD, *Preliminary Report...*, pl. XLVI), monolithe de calcaire, occupe toute la paroi ouest. Elle est entièrement peinte. Sa surface est couverte de rouge grenat, avec les hiéroglyphes et les personnages incisés enluminés de jaune; le tore est jaune, surchargé de ligatures noires; la gorge présente des languettes bleues, séparées par des languettes alternativement vertes et rouges. Elle a reçu une plinthe noire, bordée de deux rubans, un grenat et un jaune. Enfin la marge de paroi dans laquelle elle est encastrée est décorée par deux galons à zones séparés par un intervalle noir.

Son embrasure est divisée, de chaque côté, en sept registres superposés. Chacun d'entre eux est occupé par une table portant un vase  ou  scellé, avec une légende désignant une des huiles canoniques. Les tables sont alternativement peintes en rouge ou en jaune veiné de noir, les inscriptions en bleu et les fonds en noir.

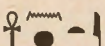
L'inscription qui couvre les diverses parties de la stèle consiste en majeure partie dans l'énoncé des titres du titulaire, dont le nom a été martelé partout. Les formules religieuses qui s'y trouvent ne sortent en rien de la banalité.


Les murs de la chambre 3 sont complètement recouverts par un crépi peint en noir.

H. — CHAPELLE PEINTE.

Nom : *détruit.*

Titres : 

Son frère : 

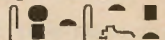

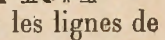
Titre : 

Cette chapelle, dont le nom du titulaire n'est conservé nulle part, est bâtie en briques crues. Elle est entièrement ruinée, sauf dans sa partie postérieure : paroi du fond, extrémité nord de la paroi est et portion de voûte peinte en rose avec pointillés noirs ou gris violacé. Un tore en limon moulé court à la naissance de la voûte. Il est peint en jaune, avec une surcharge de ligatures noires.

Les peintures ont été exécutées sur un crépi jaune clair, posé lui-même sur un crépi noir. La palette de leurs tons est assez variée. Elle comporte deux nuances de rouge : un rouge-brun et un rouge plus clair qui équivaut à peu près au vermillon; trois sortes de bleu : un bleu lapis, un bleu de ciel et un bleu-gris; des ocres jaunes de plusieurs tons; le vert véronèse, le noir et le blanc.

a) Le cintre de la paroi nord est occupé par des représentations de meubles et de vases sur un fond gris bleuté.

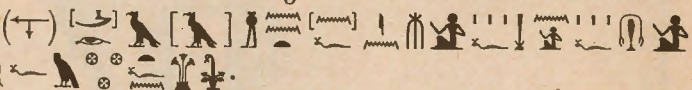
Au-dessous, le défunt est figuré assis à sa table d'offrandes, sous une pancarte blanche de quatre-vingt-treize cases, réglée en noir et écrite en rouge.

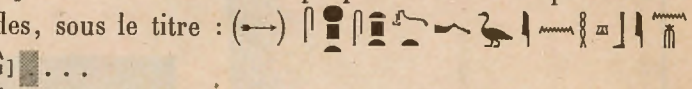
Le registre inférieur est rempli par une procession de porteurs de victuailles, conduite par le frère du défunt, sous le titre . Le second personnage est un  nommé . La couche de bleu violacé posée comme fond laisse apercevoir les lignes de construction des personnages.

Des lignes horizontales sont tirées à la hauteur des sourcils, des épaules, des aisselles, des coudes, des poignets, des genoux et du milieu

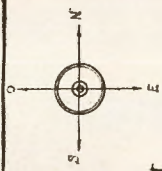
des mollets. Des lignes verticales, passant par l'oreille, le milieu du tronc et la fourche des jambes de chaque individu, le situent à sa place dans le défilé.

b) A l'extrémité nord de la paroi est, le défunt est figuré en taille héroïque, debout, le bâton à la main. Une femme le précède, vêtue de blanc et parée d'un collier *ousekh* à rangs alternativement bleus et blancs.

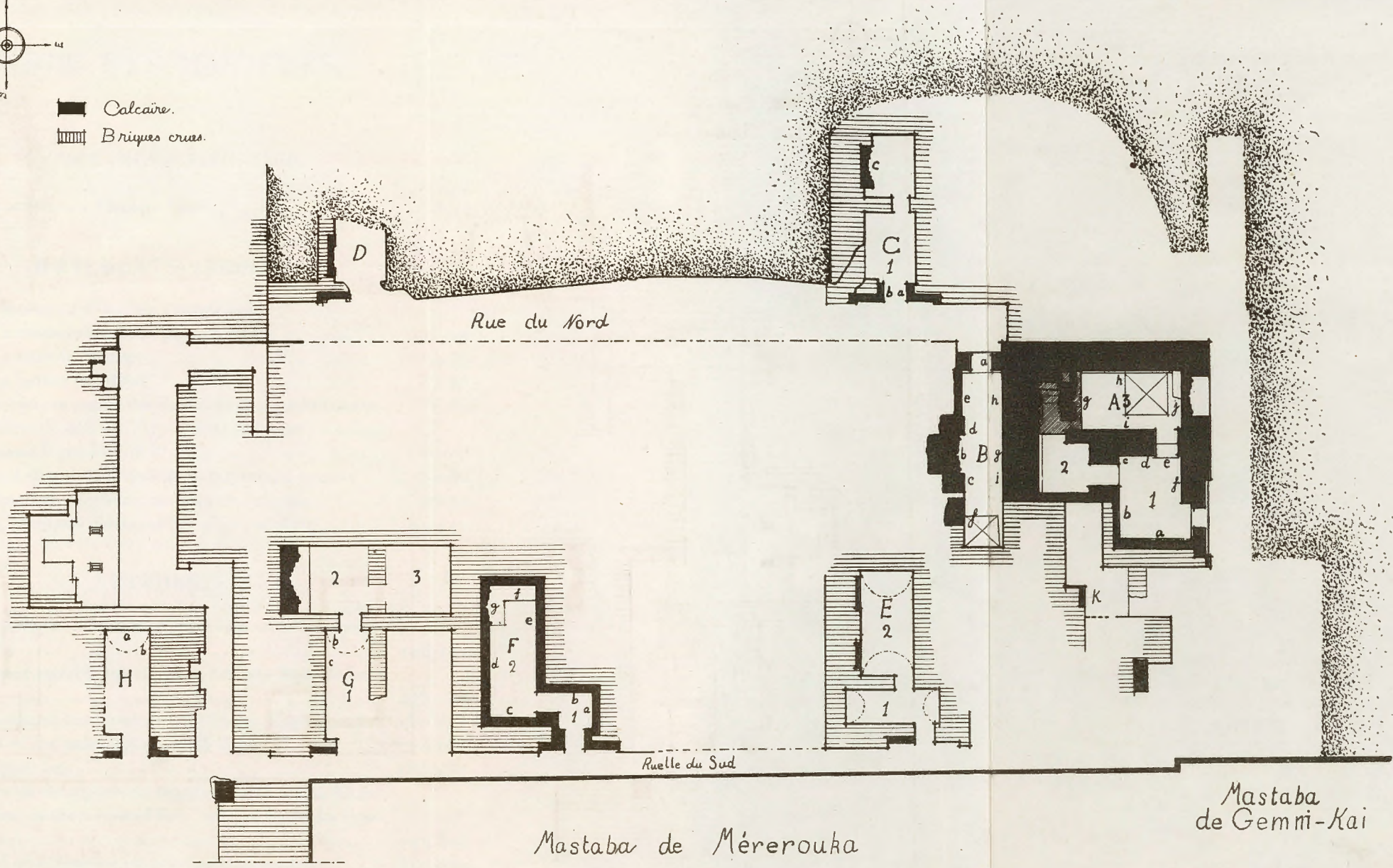
Derrière lui : 

Quatre registres superposés font converger vers lui leurs représentations. Le premier en haut est détruit; le second est meublé par de grosses jarres; le troisième montre deux femmes et un homme apportant canards et papyrus; le quatrième enfin est rempli par un défilé de porteurs de diverses offrandes, sous le titre : 

Étienne DRIGON.



■ Calcaire.  
▤ Briques crues.



Echelle 1: 100



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